From Lineage to Legacy: Charles Garland Verrinder and Victorian Anglo-Jewish Music

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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared below and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for a degree or diploma other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution.

Elements of the second half of Chapter Two, in which I explore vocal and organ techniques used at the West London Synagogue in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, features in Danielle Padley and Susan Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder: London's First Synagogue Organist', *Ad Parnassum Studies* 12 (2020). Material from the middle section of Chapter Four, which discusses Verrinder's *Hear my cry O God,* along with some factual information from Chapters One, Two and Three, have been published in 'Tracing Jewish Music beyond the Synagogue: Charles Garland Verrinder's *Hear my cry O God*', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 17/2 (2020; online 2019).

This submission does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Music (80,000 words excluding notes, bibliography, and appendices).

ABSTRACT

Danielle Louise Padley

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The work of Charles Garland Verrinder (1834-1904) provides an unusual insight into the world of Jewish music in Victorian Britain. An Anglican musician trained as a chorister at Salisbury Cathedral and with Royal Organist Sir George Elvey, Verrinder's forty-five-year career as the first organist of the West London Synagogue (Britain's first 'Reform' synagogue) overlapped with his work for the church as well as with many significant professional and amateur music societies in London. Across his career he composed and arranged numerous Hebrew liturgical settings, some with English translation, and took the opportunity as a respected organist and Doctor of Music to present lectures on Jewish music to the wider Victorian public.

This dissertation uses Verrinder's career as a case study through which to examine the multifaceted nature of Anglo-Jewish music in Victorian Britain. Based within a period of Jewish history rarely examined in detail by musicologists, this area of nineteenth-century musical life has long been associated with standard narratives of Anglo-Jewish political emancipation and religious reform, with a vague and often critical focus on the 'anglicisation' of synagogue music for purposes of British assimilation. Providing a new, music-focussed approach to this framework, I examine examples of Verrinder's liturgical settings to shed light on how such an anglicisation was achieved and on its Jewish and non-Jewish reception.

Verrinder's status as an 'outsider' in the Jewish world both complements and complicates accusations of 'otherness' which subtly (and unsubtly) pervade Victorian opinion on Jews and Judaism, making him a powerful example of Jewish-Christian musical interaction. To that end, the objective of my dissertation is to loosen the bond between Victorian Anglo-Jewish music and the 'grand narratives' of British Jewry, reframing the topic within the context of music-making in Victorian Britain. Exploring Verrinder's work in comparison with that of other musicians and musical educators, I suggest that the widespread publication and performance of ancient Jewish melodies, contemporary compositions and Jewish-related choral works brought this music into line with the broader opus of Victorian sacred repertoire, blurring the distinction between the synagogue, home, and concert hall.

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NOTE ON THE TEXT

All sources from the West London Synagogue archives are part of the Anglo-Jewish Archive, held at the Hartley Library, University of Southampton. These sources are distinguishable by the code MS 140. Where dates are given in full (as in letters and other correspondence), I have included them; others I have identified by month and year or by the description given on the document.

Due to library closures since March 2020, I have not been able to acquire high-quality images for certain musical examples; in lieu of these, photographs taken early on in my research are currently provided.

All words in Hebrew are transliterated according to personal practice (such as using *ch* instead of *h* or *ḥ*) and italicised, unless used in quotations where transliterated Hebrew is kept in standard type. English translations or definitions follow the Hebrew on their first occurrence. Plurals of Hebrew words take the endings '-*im*' (masculine) and '-*ot*' (feminine); unless the meaning is unclear, translations are not provided for words in the plural where the singular has already been used. The words 'Sephardi' and 'Ashkenazi' (and their plurals), given their relative familiarity and the frequency with which they feature in this dissertation, remain in standard type. Other assimilated words and expressions (such as *Bar*/*Bat Mitzvah*) are italicised.

Pieces of music with Hebrew titles which form part of larger musical collections will be referred to in inverted commas, while allusions to the text to which they are set will remain italicised (for instance, Leon's 'Yigdal'; the *Yigdal* text; the *Yigdal* melody).

All newspaper, magazine and periodical titles have been standardised without the definite article, aside from instances where this would be grammatically erroneous.

I have standardised the spelling of certain words and names in my text, with variations retained if they appear in quotations from other sources. These include (possible variations in parentheses):

Arthur Friedländer (Friedlander)

Chazan (*Chazzan*, *Hazan* or *Hazzan*)

Kol Nidre (*Nidrei* or *Nidréi*)

Myer Leon (Meyer or Meier)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The last nearly five years since I commenced this project have been a rollercoaster of events and emotions, pandemics notwithstanding. While completing a dissertation in lockdown around a toddler has had its challenges, I consider myself fortunate to be researching two topics – Jewish liturgical music and Jewish-Christian relations – in which I have a personal interest, and which have informed many of my life's decisions. There are numerous people to whom I would like to express my warmest thanks for their role in supporting my musical interests, leading me towards this project and providing me with opportunities to research, perform and conduct this relatively unknown repertoire.

My introduction to Jewish liturgical music would not have been possible without the Edgware and District Reform Synagogue (now Edgware and Hendon). On 20 May 2000, the day of my *Bat Mitzvah*, I was approached by another Danielle, Dani Joseph (now Abrahams) and invited to join the Synagogue's Youth Choir. Had I not accepted her invitation, my interest in synagogue musical repertoire would not have been cultivated, nor would I have had my earliest experiences as a soloist or choral conductor. Twenty years on, I remain indebted to Dani and the EHRS choir who have supported me in my performing, conducting and academic pursuits. I would like in particular to thank cantors (and fellow High Holyday conductors), Robert Davis and Marc Finer, for their patience and professionalism in my early days as a conductor, when music I had been singing for years suddenly seemed unfamiliar. Most significantly, however, my heartfelt gratitude goes to the Synagogue's inimitable Musical Director Ann Sadan, whose friendship and encouragement mean the world, and whose talents and strength remain an inspiration.

Benjamin Wolf and Rachel Adelstein have been further sources of support as colleagues in the world of Jewish music, providing me with a number of performance and teaching opportunities and, perhaps most important for a new researcher, a friendly face at some of my earliest conferences. I gratefully acknowledge those who have shown a particular interest in my presented and written work; namely Alexander Knapp (SOAS), Stephen Muir (University of Leeds), Chris Price (Canterbury Christ Church University) and Paul Watt (Monash University). My special gratitude goes to Delphine Mordey, Susan Wollenberg and Bennett Zon for their continued encouragement, academic opportunities, and references, and to Ed Kessler, Esther-Miriam Wagner, and the Woolf Institute for welcoming me to take part in their academic activities. I look forward to undertaking and sharing further research for and within this community.

My research has been made possible thanks to the generous financial support of the Jewish Historical Society of England, Musica Britannica/Louise Dyer, the Polonsky Foundation, the Spalding Trust, the Reverend John Wates, the Cottenham British School Trust, Jesus College, and the University of Cambridge Faculty of Music. I am particularly indebted to the JHSE for providing me with the

opportunity to present the inaugural lecture of the Cambridge branch of the Society in 2017, and to the Society's previous Chair, David Jacobs, for his donation of two scores of Verrinder's music and for his continued fascination with Verrinder and his work.

For their assistance with my research, I am grateful to Anna Pensaert and her colleagues in the Anderson Room at Cambridge's University Library for unearthing a vital musical score; to Christopher Bowers-Broadbent and Simon Myers at the West London Synagogue for sharing the Synagogue's musical and archival resources; to John Rooney and the Archives staff at the Hartley Library, University of Southampton; to Emily Naish (Salisbury Cathedral), Andrew McCrae (Royal College of Organists) Ruth Shingler (Carlisle Cathedral) and Tom Bell (St Michael's, Chester Square) for details of Verrinder's biography; and to Andreas Bedorf for helping with nineteenth-century German translations. Nicholas Thistlethwaite kindly shared his expertise and knowledge regarding nineteenth-century organs and provided specific details of the instruments mentioned in this work. I am delighted also to have made contact with Verrinder's great-great-granddaughter, Joanna Newland, who generously granted me permission to use her photographs and biographical material. My thanks to James Harvey for introducing me to www.ancestry.co.uk (through which I discovered Verrinder's family), as well as for being pianist extraordinaire at various lecture-recitals and concerts of Jewish liturgical music.

Benjamin Walton has gone above and beyond the expectations of an academic supervisor, and I am very grateful for his enthusiasm, ability to provide alternative perspectives, and unfaltering professional and personal support. I also thank my examiners, Susan Rutherford and Tina Frühauf, for their insightful questions and comments. I am indebted to Rachel Becker, Charlotte Bentley and Vera Wolkowicz for their friendship, academic discussion and extremely necessary lunches and teas (and baby-entertaining services)! My thanks also to Emma Vieceli for her hospitality and companionship during many a working day – I think she now knows almost as much about Verrinder as I do – and to my Cambridge 'families': members of the local theatre societies, who have provided sources of inspiration, distraction and silliness; and my own Hebrew choir, *Kol Echad*, whose engagement with my academic work has been a great blessing. Their friendship and energy are constant (even when presented with more Victorian-related trivia or yet another piece of nineteenth-century liturgical music) and I look forward to future performance opportunities.

Finally, my eternal gratitude goes to my family, who have inspired and encouraged my love of music and Jewish traditions, passed down from my grandparents Phillip, Judy, Laura, and Percy, to my parents Amanda and Barry, to me and my sisters Katie and Sophie. It is now my responsibility to pass these onto the next generation in Robin, whose arrival halfway through this project allowed me to develop personally and academically. To him and to Jonathan, my sources of endless love, support, and hilarity, I wish a lifetime of shared religious and musical celebrations on our own Jewish-Christian journey.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation in memory of four members of the Edgware and Hendon Synagogue community, who passed away in the months prior to the completion of this work. All actively involved in singing with and supporting the Synagogue choir, without them my love for this music, and therefore this research, would not exist. Their warmth, devotion, and generosity were unlimited, and their kindness and encouragement to me I will forever treasure.

Suzanne Goodman
Rabbi Neil Kraft
Alan Kutner
Eric Lenz

Zichronam livracha – may their memories be a blessing.

Figure 1: Image of Charles Garland Verrinder, late-nineteenth century. Courtesy of Joanna Newland.

INTRODUCTION

Others and Othering: Anglo-Jewry in context

The Jewish Voice and the 'Non-Jew': A Case Study

In 2002, following a thirty-year career as a leading Anglo-Jewish historian, Todd M. Endelman wrote that, in British history, 'Jews have no voice of their own as Jews, no internal life of more than parochial interest'.[1]

This statement, appearing in a work that at its conclusion bemoans a widespread 'fracturing of Anglo-Jewry' throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, makes a clear observation about the often-assumed collective status of 'Jews' in historical accounts.[2] Given that Endelman observes a general 'maturation' of writing surrounding Anglo-Jewish history since the 1980s which has 'caused [him] to temper, if not revise, [his] views', it is striking that his epic account of the Jews in Britain between 1656 and 2000 still claims that British histories in general continue to 'ignore Jews altogether', or approach them in one of two ways: 'to treat them superficially, as victims […] or as success stories'.[3] In fact, it is just one of numerous accounts of the last few decades to observe that Jewish topics are practically absent from wider narratives of British life and culture.[4]

Endelman's use of the word 'voice' to describe the lack of a Jewish perspective in British history is particularly relevant to my dissertation, which approaches the topic from another angle: the music of Victorian Anglo-Jewry, as depicted in synagogue and home performance practices. An aspect of social history which has been overlooked, nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish music is almost always discussed with reference to religious reform or political and social progress for British Jews – the two 'grand narratives' of Victorian Anglo-Jewish history. Endelman mentions music only in simple terms, indicating its role in the 'anglicisation' of synagogue worship through the introduction of choral music,

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[1] Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain: 1656-2000* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), 5.

[2] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 254.

[3] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 5.

[4] This is a principal subject in many of the chapters in *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness*, ed. Tony Kushner (London: Frank Cass, 1992). Anne and Roger Cowen's *Victorian Jews through British Eyes* (London and Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998) reinforces British history's limiting of Victorian Jewry to three principal political and social elements, while Sharman Kadish's work on Anglo-Jewish architecture indicates that this area, too, has 'hitherto been largely neglected by the mainstream of British architectural history'; Kadish, 'Constructing Identity: Anglo-Jewry and Synagogue Architecture', *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 387. Similarly, Cynthia Scheinberg has examined how gender bias in Victorian poetry (and its subsequent study) has led to the dismissal of Jewish subjects in this area, given that it was a topic primarily explored by women; Scheinberg, *Women's Poetry and Religion in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

bringing British standards of religious decorum into Jewish practice. He also acknowledges the preference of the average upper- and middle-class Victorian Jew – as a relatively assimilated member of Victorian society – for attending musical performances and joining music societies over regular participation at synagogue services.[5] In fact, nearly all references in Endelman's work to 'music', 'choir', or 'concerts' are cursory descriptions of activities which emphasised cultural assimilation and a certain financial stability among those who considered themselves 'British Jews'. Endelman claims that choral worship, among other aspects of mid- to late-nineteenth-century synagogue practice, 'smacked of Christian influence'.[6] However, it was the choral style as it was developing in the Anglican church, rather than its religious associations, which appealed to an Anglo-Jewish community concerned with how order, structure and respectability could lessen the exoticism perceived in Jewish practices. The narrative of reducing the 'otherness' of Jewish worship through the incorporation of British conventions and religious practices is a common one. It also reinforces the nature of the Anglo-Jewish community's joint heritage, which Endelman suggests contributed to the decline of a British Jewish Orthodoxy through the dispersion of a united religious community. However, a minimalist approach to music fails to recognise its various functions in both Victorian and Anglo-Jewish society, and the continued importance of this music to many synagogue communities today. This dissertation aims to explore just how music was used to express and encapsulate Anglo-Jewish identity, how this musical identity developed over time, and the ways in which it interacted with, and complemented, other aspects of nineteenth-century British religious and cultural existence.

As shall be addressed shortly, the use of the expression 'Anglo-Jewish' by scholars within the field has historically not indicated the diversity of experience, background, and religious observance of the community of Jews living in Britain during the nineteenth century. I have adopted its usage – interchangeably with references to 'British Jews' – to reflect the language appropriated by those whose worship music is discussed within this dissertation. The community around which this work is focussed, a largely middle- and upper-class population residing in London, viewed itself through its dual religious and national heritage and, to all intents and purposes, cultivated the term to define the proper means of being Jewish in Britain. In this context, a large proportion of the Jewish community in Britain during the nineteenth century are underrepresented, both in contemporary sources and in secondary literature, particularly that written in the early- to mid-twentieth century. Even within the small community at the core of this research, the congregation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, differing family backgrounds, traditions, and religious opinion created a hybridity of practice which ultimately came to be understood under the umbrella term 'Anglo-Jewish', despite this community's at times acrimonious relationship with other British synagogue congregations.

[5] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 100-118.

[6] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 145.

This period of Anglo-Jewish history is associated with the development of what has more recently been termed the *minhag Anglia* – often translated as the 'Anglo-Jewish rite'. Under consecutive Chief Rabbis, father and son Nathan Marcus Adler (1803-1890) and Hermann Adler (1839-1911), a set of specifically 'British' worship principles became adopted across the country's synagogues, although no official policies were documented, nor worship aides produced until the late-nineteenth century. It was only in 1870, with the foundation of the United Synagogue, an umbrella body which oversaw the running of the majority of Ashkenazi (central European) Orthodox synagogues in Britain, that the Chief Rabbinate began to hold significant power; even then, institutions outside of the United Synagogue – the two so-called 'Reform' synagogues, the Sephardi (Spanish and Portuguese) congregation, and a number of other Orthodox synagogues which chose not to conform – still differed from the Adlerian ideal in their practices. An overall 'British' aesthetic was adopted by those who saw themselves as assimilated British Jews, but a uniform religious practice was absent.

In her essay on *minhag Anglia*, Miri Freud-Kandel reinforces the dominance of cultural and aesthetic principles over religious or theological issues in Anglo-Jewish worship from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Her interpretations of *minhag Anglia* include: 'the distinctive liturgical practices developed in Britain to amalgamate the varied minhagim that immigrants brought to the country'; 'the Anglo-Jewish inclination to emphasise the decorous in religious worship'; and even 'the somewhat unthinking means of being Jewish in a British setting'.[7] Like Endelman, Freud-Kandel attributes the lack of a true British Jewish Orthodoxy (until recent decades) to an absence of intellectual Jewish thought and a 'lax' attitude to religious law. However, the flexibility of religious approach she depicts in her account of *minhag Anglia*, much like Endelman's vision of a predominantly cultural British Judaism in the nineteenth century, perhaps embodies the somewhat undefinable essence of Anglo-Judaism still felt by many today. Freud-Kandel refers to the use of the expression *minhag Anglia* in more recent sources to define a sense of 'nostalgi[a for] an earlier stage in British Jewish history that celebrated inclusivity and eschewed religious stringency.'[8] Whatever the theological faults or oversights of the Victorian Anglo-Jewish community, their uniting of religious with national identity held power over successive generations of British Jews.

Within this framework, music plays a significant role, not just for Jews whose families remain established in Britain, but for those whose life choices have led them elsewhere. It is telling that following a 2018 lecture on *minhag Anglia* given by Rabbi Raymond Apple to the Israel branch of the Jewish Historical Society of England, a mention of a particular melody – David Aharon De Sola's setting of *Adon Olam*, first published in 1857 (about which more in Chapter Three) – inspired a spontaneous and joyful singalong among the audience, the majority of whom had family connections

[7] Miri Freud-Kandel, 'Minhag Anglia: The Transition of Modern Orthodox Judaism in Britain', *Pardes, Zeitschrift der Vereinigung für Jüdische Studien* 18 (2012): 37-39.

[8] Freud-Kandel, 'Minhag Anglia', 41.

with, and personal memories of, some of the oldest Anglo-Jewish synagogues.[9] Recent ethnographic studies have explored why certain musical repertoire – and even published collections, such as F. L. Cohen and David M. Davis' volume famously nicknamed the 'Blue Book', also discussed in Chapter Three – remain so embedded in twenty-first-century Anglo-Jewish worship.[10] To date, however, it has not been considered in detail how this repertoire, now nearly one-hundred-and-fifty years old, satisfied the religious and cultural aspirations of the period's Anglo-Jewish community in all its diversity.

The earliest ideas for my research originate from my own Jewish identity, which has evolved personally through my strong connection with my family's traditions, and through twenty years' experience as a chorister and conductor at Edgware and District Reform Synagogue (EDRS).[11] While my family has a heritage which has travelled across Central and Eastern Europe, bringing with it practices and melodies from Poland, Lithuania, Germany and Russia, the identity to which I feel most strongly connected is that of a British Jew. My research has caused me to seek clarity for this, and rethink my own identity as someone from a 'traditional' Jewish family; what was traditional about my upbringing? How does my family's history tie in with the narratives I have read? To what extent does my Jewish identity and religious practice reflect this history? I have concluded that my connection with Judaism is marked not just by religious customs – with those undertaken by my own family feeling essentially more 'Jewish' to me by default of being familiar – but is affected significantly by the melodies and musical compositions which make Jewish practice and worship memorable, comforting, prayerful and, at times, fun.[12] My research – particularly those aspects which emphasise the 'otherness'

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[9] Rabbi Raymond Apple, 'Minhag Anglia – a broader connotation', address presented to the Israel Branch of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 14 May 2018. Transcribed at https://www.oztorah.com/2018/05/minhag-anglia-a-broader-connotation/#.X4RhFNBKjD5 (accessed 12 October 2020).

[10] See Rachel Adelstein, 'Prayer of the People: The Cultural Anthology of Progressive Anglo-Jewish Liturgical Song', *Musica Judaica* 22 (2018-2019): 1-30', and Barbara Borts, 'Mouths filled with song: British Reform Judaism through the lens of its music' (PhD diss., Durham University, 2014). Also F. L. Cohen and D. M. Davis, *Kol Rinnah V'Todah. The Voice of Prayer and Praise: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing. Arranged and Edited for the United Synagogue with the sanction of the Chief Rabbi* (London: Greenberg and Co., 1899).

[11] EDRS (originally founded in 1934) merged with Hendon Reform Synagogue in 2017, to form Edgware and Hendon Reform Synagogue (EHRS). While EDRS previously had the reputation of being the largest Reform congregation in Europe, EHRS is now Europe's largest synagogue congregation across all denominations of Judaism. I shall address the term 'Reform' in connection with other Jewish denominations over the course of the following chapter. See 'Merging and Celebrating with Edgware and Hendon', Reform Judaism (accessed 24 May 2019) https://www.reformjudaism.org.uk/merging-celebrating-edgware-hendon/.

[12] I was reassured upon attending a Sabbath evening event at the Cambridge University Jewish Society as an Undergraduate that most of the tunes used during the *Bentsching* (Grace After Meals) were the same as those we sang at home, including requisite interjections, improvised harmonies, and 'om-tiddly-om-poms'; perhaps the result of a similar upbringing in the synagogues and Jewish homes of (in the main) North-West London. On a still more personal level, the Passover *Seder* in our family is not complete without my Grandfather leading a rendition of 'Addir Hu', an alphabet song with verses consisting of three two-word phrases each ending in 'hu', in which he frequently adds additional phrases such as 'Doctor (Hu)' and 'Atish (Hu)'.

of Jewish practices – has reinforced for me that the music with which I have been brought up feels anything but 'other'. As someone with training in European art music and experience of a wide variety of choral and instrumental performance, my role as a member of a four-part, musically directed choir at EDRS felt as 'normal' as singing Christian liturgical settings with a school or university choir. This has led me to question what is both 'other' and 'normal' about this synagogue repertoire, most of which originated (in arrangement, if not in composition) in the mid-nineteenth century.[13]

In addition, my choice of case study stems from my acute awareness of Jewish-Christian relationships, having married an Anglican in 2014. Equally active in and engaged by our respective faiths, our wedding ceremony, and subsequent baby blessing for our son in 2018, incorporated a combination not only of Jewish and Christian liturgical texts (including many which overlap), but of Jewish and Christian musical settings. Now a member of *Kol Echad*, a Cambridge-based Hebrew choir that I direct, my husband has stated that he feels as at home singing Jewish repertoire as he does Christian hymns, psalms, and other liturgical settings.[14] Other non-Jewish members of the choir also identify striking similarities between the two musical traditions. When I discovered, therefore, that my favourite Hebrew setting of Psalm 121 was composed by a Christian, Charles Garland Verrinder (1834-1904), I was keen to explore why an Anglican musician had composed what has become known as the 'traditional' Hebrew setting of the Psalm (commonly referred to as 'Essa Enai'), written in four identical stanzas much like a hymn tune. As I had only a couple of months previously walked down the aisle to this very composition, I was excited by our unintentionally appropriate choice of music.[15]

At the time of commencing my research, Susan Wollenberg had published the only significant piece of writing on Verrinder, which outlines his principal duties as the organist at the West London Synagogue from 1859 to 1904.[16] Acknowledging, in the same vein as Endelman, that '[i]n the area of

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[13] The music performed at EHRS is increasingly varied, with compositions and arrangements by more recent composers providing variety through their connections both with modern Western styles and with ancient Jewish modes, which themselves went out of fashion in the nineteenth century due to their 'Eastern' sound. The nineteenth-century repertoire is largely based in the work of English, German, Austrian and French composers, whose work will be discussed across this dissertation.

[14] He acquaints the feeling of singing Jewish choral settings with the same emotional response he has, as a Welshman, to hearing or singing in a Welsh male-voice choir; the heritage is somehow inherent through the language and its history.

[15] We also chose to open and conclude our ceremony with an English and Hebrew rendition of Psalm 150; the first being the well-known Stanford setting, the second being a synagogue favourite by Louis Lewandowski, whose name will feature throughout this dissertation as one of the forefathers of the nineteenth-century Jewish choral tradition. As a text, Psalm 150 will also be referred to later in this dissertation in discussion of biblical versus rabbinic practices, the latter being less strictly adhered to by promoters of the Reform Movement.

[16] Susan Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder and Music at the West London Synagogue, 1859-1904', in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 59-82. Padley and Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder: London's First Synagogue Organist', *Ad Parnassum Studies* 12 (2020): 167-184. Padley, 'Tracing Jewish Music beyond the Synagogue: Charles Garland Verrinder's *Hear My Cry O God*', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 17/2 (2020):

nineteenth-century British musical history, it seems that Jewish musical culture has largely eluded placement within the general frame', Wollenberg's assessment of Verrinder's work as a 'pioneer' of the organ in British synagogue worship re-examines the notion that Jewish and Christian musical practices are separate.[17] She also refers to the 'outward-looking' nature of the West London Synagogue's ideology, with regards to their 'concern[s] to foster good relations with their Orthodox counterparts'.[18] This reference to the Synagogue's outward focus inspired me to take the study of Verrinder's work further, to highlight a more nuanced interplay between religious, cultural and – above all – national identity which underpins 'Jewish' music.

Verrinder's position at the West London Synagogue placed him at the heart of Jewish and musical Britain. Situated in the West End of London, supported by some of Britain's most influential and affluent Jewish congregants, and already assisted in its musical endeavours by notable Jewish musicians such as Charles Kensington Salaman (1814-1901), the West London Synagogue was considered by many to be the epitome of musical standards in Jewish worship. As shall be addressed in the following chapters, however, such opinions were frequently balanced out by those who believed that the Synagogue's prioritisation of high-quality music (particularly with an Anglican at the helm) undermined a respect for congregational worship and certain practices dictated in Talmudic law (the latter of which the Synagogue's Minister, David Woolf Marks, held in less reverence than his more Orthodox peers). Across Europe, the suitability of instrumental music in the synagogue had been a cause for considerable debate, as had the faith of the potential instrumentalists. Concerns regarding breaking the rules of the Sabbath to tune or fix an instrument were combined with a notion that, since the destruction of the second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, the Jewish people were in a permanent state of mourning; thus, the celebratory nature of temple worship – including instrumental music – were removed and replaced with liturgy. While a non-Jewish instrumentalist might have resolved the first issue, their ability to fully immerse themselves in the details of Jewish liturgy and prayer was called into question at various rabbinical conferences during the early- to mid-1800s.[19]

While similar debates can be found in issues of the *Jewish Chronicle*, the lack of rabbinic authority in Britain during this time resulted in a far less rigorous or theologically focussed discussion; as such, musical decisions were as individual and lay-directed as many other aspects of Anglo-Jewish worship, with synagogue practices varying subtly across the country according to taste, financial capacity, and each community's social make-up. As shall be made clear across the course of this dissertation, a certain hybridity of practice, musical style, and even prior national heritage (as Freud-

181-223, explores Verrinder's dual-language composition for performance outside the synagogue. See Chapter Four for details of this research.

[17] Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder and Music at the West London Synagogue', 60.

[18] Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder and Music at the West London Synagogue', 64.

[19] This included a notable conference in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1845, about which more in Chapter One.

Kandel effectively acknowledges in her first interpretation of *minhag Anglia*) is essential to our understanding of Anglo-Jewishness, particularly in terms of its soundscape.

What, then, can be made of Verrinder's place as an outsider within the Anglo-Jewish community? While, as shall be seen in Chapter Two, it inspired a number of snide remarks in the Jewish press, and caused some issues to arise concerning Verrinder's absence from collections of repertoire by fellow 'Anglo-Jewish' composers, Verrinder and his work did more to unite diverse elements of the Jewish (and non-Jewish) community than to drive a wedge between them. It is important to note that Verrinder was not, as many have incorrectly acknowledged, the first synagogue organist in Britain. A year prior to his arrival at the West London Synagogue, an organ had been installed for the foundation of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews, the second Reform synagogue in the country.[20] Nor was one of his more controversial achievements – the introduction of a mixed choir to the Synagogue – a first within Anglo-Jewish worship. A contentious issue tied up with Talmudic concerns of *kol isha*, the potential for male congregants to be distracted from their prayers on hearing the 'voice of a woman', women were theoretically prohibited from contributing to the musical portion of the service. However, female voices had already been present during High Holyday and other special services at the West London Synagogue from at least 1859 and, once again, in the choir of the Manchester Congregation at its foundation the previous year. Verrinder's introduction of women into the West London Synagogue's regular choir in 1865 is perhaps less noteworthy for the act itself, therefore, than for the three-year debate it sparked between him and the Synagogue wardens, and for his subsequent use of female voices in composition and performance, as shall be discussed later in this dissertation.

In light of detailed musical analysis, a survey of his private and public correspondence, and an assessment of his compositional and performance output, I suggest that Verrinder's contribution to the Victorian Jewish musical sphere was more subtle than introducing dramatic changes to worship practice. Dedicated to his role in the Synagogue for forty-five years, his work as a composer, performer, and promoter of Jewish liturgical music heavily influenced ongoing attempts to draw the parallel musical histories and practices of the synagogue, church, and secular space closer together. He acknowledged the biblical musical heritage shared between Christians and Jews, and strove to demonstrate how Jewish repertoire arranged in a contemporary style was a celebration of a new unity between the two faiths, and between Judaism and the (increasingly accepting) modern world.[21] As such,

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[20] 'Consecration of the Manchester Synagogue of British Jews', *Manchester Guardian*, 26 March 1858. Wollenberg closes her article on Verrinder by describing him as 'the pioneering first holder of the post at [the West London Synagogue], and the first-ever [sic] synagogue organist in Britain'; Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder and Music at the West London Synagogue', 75. Philippa Bernard also makes reference to the West London Synagogue being 'the first synagogue in Britain to have an organ'; Bernard, *A Beacon of Light: The History of the West London Synagogue* (London: The West London Synagogue, 2013), 31. This shall be addressed in more detail in Chapter Two.

[21] There is much nineteenth-century documentation which acknowledges musical links between Jewish and Christian practices, particularly with regards to chant. However, the majority of this had the objective of

this was a new legacy under more positive conditions for the Anglo-Jewish community, free from past persecution and with the potential to be as openly part of British cultural life as Christian worship music. As an outsider to the Jewish faith, but an active member of London's musical society, Verrinder was able to give the Anglo-Jewish community a voice of its own within Victorian musical life. Moreover, he ensured that this voice reinforced the hybridity of the Anglo-Jewish experience, drawing musical inspiration from Sephardi and Ashkenazi branches of Judaism, their new cultural and social preferences as British citizens, contemporary Christian practices, and male versus female religious responsibilities. In the context of the observations made by Endelman, Wollenberg and others, such devotion by a 'non-Jew' to the sympathetic expression of the Jewish voice stands out in British musical and cultural history, both before and since.

Based on this notion of multiplicity, I also argue in the course of this dissertation for the examination of Anglo-Jewish music on a more local level, as a living musical practice which engaged with the Anglo-Jewish community's wider world, providing various opportunities for worship, performance, composition, and education. In his recent account of Jewish music in nineteenth-century America, Judah M. Cohen has demonstrated that it is possible – and, at this point, perhaps to the advantage of Jewish music – to address the topic not from a 'Jewish' context, but a musicological one (in Cohen's case, the exploration of how nineteenth-century American musical activity inspired American-Jewish religious musical practice).[22] I have tried as far as possible to contain discussions of Jewish identity – which pervade most aspects of Jewish studies – within the parameters of my own musical analysis, based on evidence found in primary sources. I have therefore adopted a similar framework to Cohen, exploring, for instance, the effect of the boom in music publishing, choral societies, and sacred compositions on how and why Anglo-Jewish music was written, distributed, and received during the nineteenth century.

This research has required a broad examination of secondary sources which evaluate Judaism and Jewish music in Britain, across central and Eastern Europe, and the United States. While, as has been mentioned, British Jewry does not feature heavily in larger historical or musical accounts of international Judaism, it has been useful to have an overview of the similarities and differences between the Anglo-Jewish and wider Jewish experience, particularly in terms of identity, 'otherness', and religious practice. This has been complemented by studies of nineteenth-century music in Britain, including developments in British sacred and secular musical identity, the nature and content of contemporary music histories and encyclopaedias, details regarding types of musical training and

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demonstrating the superiority and refinement of Christian music over the crudeness and simplicity of ancient Jewish music. Bennett Zon has undertaken considerable work on this subject; see, for example, his 'Victorian Anti-Semitism and the Origin of Gregorian Chant', in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 99-119.

[22] Judah M. Cohen, *Jewish Religious Music in Nineteenth-Century America: Restoring the Synagogue Soundtrack* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2019).

experience (such as apprenticeships), and the impact of printed musical resources (scores and music periodicals). Specific studies of Victorian Anglo-Jewish literature, architecture, and media (through the work of, for instance, Cynthia Scheinberg, Michael Ragussis, Sharman Kadish, and David Cesarani) have confirmed the presence of an Anglo-Jewish culture which had multiple guises, irreducible to the single form of Anglo-Jewish existence often depicted in historical accounts.

Primary sources have also been varied. My first ports of call were the West London Synagogue archives, which form a substantial part of the Anglo-Jewish Archive at Southampton University, and online and hard copies of back issues of leading Anglo-Jewish newspaper, the *Jewish Chronicle*. Established in 1841, the *Jewish Chronicle*'s pages include national and international Jewish news stories, editorials and opinion pieces regarding contemporary issues and religious practice, obituaries, advertisements, and cultural news. It has been an invaluable resource for tracing popular opinion and national synagogue practices as they developed across the nineteenth century, as well as for establishing elements of Verrinder's biography (notably his impact upon the West London Synagogue and his interaction with the rest of the Anglo-Jewish world). Other national and musical newspapers, journals, and periodicals, available in digitised formats, have also enabled me to compile a detailed compendium of Verrinder's sacred and secular musical engagements, membership of musical societies, musical colleagues (immediate and distant), and publications; this information can be found in Appendix 5, and a full list of the printed media surveyed is contained in the Bibliography.

Upon ascertaining certain details of Verrinder's life, it was possible to piece together elements of his likely experience and musical training. Nineteenth-century historical and biographical accounts, such as those concerning Salisbury Cathedral and Verrinder's organ tutor, Sir George Elvey, assisted in this regard, alongside fragments of archival information from the Cathedral and other religious institutions in which Verrinder worked (although some of these no longer exist). Census records, birth, marriage, and death certificates, and other family details were discovered via www.ancestry.com, as well as in the national press. A number of Verrinder's compositions and other musical scores are held in the British Library, with many other musical resources found online via the IMSLP Petrucci Music Library and Jewish music webpages. Verrinder's principal publication, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, forms the basis of much of my musical analysis in Chapters Two and Three; as indicated in Chapter Three and in Appendix 3, this publication is available, and catalogued, in a surprising variety of formats; access to a number of different editions – including those found in the Cambridge University Library, the British Library, and the West London Synagogue itself – has been invaluable to my research.

This dissertation charts unfamiliar waters for British history and musicology; therefore, this Introduction will give an overview of some of the ways in which Jewishness has been defined and discussed in primary and secondary material, particularly regarding the nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish community. As I shall outline shortly, reasons for the topic's relative absence predominantly revolve around the 'otherness' of Judaism and Jews. There are many more key words which feature in

discussions of Jewish topics, whether within the context of Jewish studies, broader history, or cultural studies. Words such as 'lineage', 'legacy' and 'heritage' act as reminders of the Jewish physical and emotional state, with an assumed obligation to adhere to and comply with ancient Jewish history, law, and practice. The Old Testament sets the precedent for the importance of both 'lineage' and 'legacy' in Judaism. References to biblical figures listing their ancestry (such as, in Samuel 1 verse 1: 'Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of Zuph') stress that familial line is the principal means of defining one's Jewish identity. A number of Jewish prayers which ask for God's blessing over particular individuals or communities open with the words 'May He who blessed our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob', indicating the presence of an eternal God whose blessing continues from generation to generation of Jews from the time of the first covenant.[23] These words have served to instruct a disparate community of Jews to remember their religious heritage; however, geographical and social circumstances have dictated how this heritage could be observed and its laws enacted upon. This is the 'legacy': the real-time decisions, behaviours and practices which pass *l'dor v'dor* – from generation to generation; discrete, dependent on time, place, and community.[24]

In this context, the words 'lineage' and 'legacy' in my dissertation title refer to a shift in focus: from something valued for its links to ancient tradition to something understood to be growing according to its contact with other nations, practices, and customs. While this shift does not intend to negate the significance of Jewish lineage, it could impact upon how Jewish history, culture and practice is viewed and treated across a variety of academic fields. Philip Bohlman has undertaken significant work on the role of music in what he refers to as a 'Jewish modernism' which was 'born of emancipation and spurred on by assimilation'; culturally part of this attempt to modernise Judaism (although not featured specifically in Bohlman's work), Victorian Anglo-Jews sought 'to establish a place in history

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[23] Variations on this wording now exist in different denominations of Judaism, replacing the word 'fathers' with 'ancestors' or adding 'and our mothers' to include Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah among the earliest generation of Jews.

[24] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines lineage as 'lineal descent from an ancestor; ancestry, pedigree', and a definition of legacy includes '[a] tangible or intangible thing handed down by a predecessor; a long-lasting effect of an event or process'; see entries for 'lineage' and 'legacy', *OED Online* (accessed 12 July 2020) https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/108611?redirectedFrom=lineage#eid; https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/107006?rskey=PqwqBt&result=1#eid. *L'dor v'dor* is a Hebrew phrase found in many Jewish texts and songs, and represents an important element of the Jewish legacy, particularly in non-Orthodox communities. Senior Rabbi to Reform Judaism (to October 2020), Laura Janner-Klausner, states that 'Judaism has remained vibrant because we prioritise renewing our heritage for those who come after us'; Jeff Janeczko acknowledges the vital importance within *l'dor v'dor* of 'the notion that all endings engender new beginnings'. Within my research, and for Reform Judaism in general (the origins of which play a fundamental role in my dissertation), the leaving of a positive legacy for future generations is an intrinsic part of the adaptation and documentation of Jewish life and practice. See 'Jewish Legacy Awareness Month' and Milken Archive of Jewish Music (accessed 4 May 2020) https://www.reformjudaism.org.uk/jewish-legacy-awareness-month/; https://www.milkenarchive.org/music/volumes/view/ldor-vador/.

rather than to liberate itself from history'.[25] Within this context, the treatment of the Victorian Anglo-Jewish community as either a story of victimisation or success is to look only at the political context of their existence, and not at their everyday lives. By contributing a musical study, I hope to underpin recent work which values the Anglo-Jewish community as part of a wider national society, and introduce new ideas of how Anglo-Jewish music might complement existing knowledge of Victorian musical life.

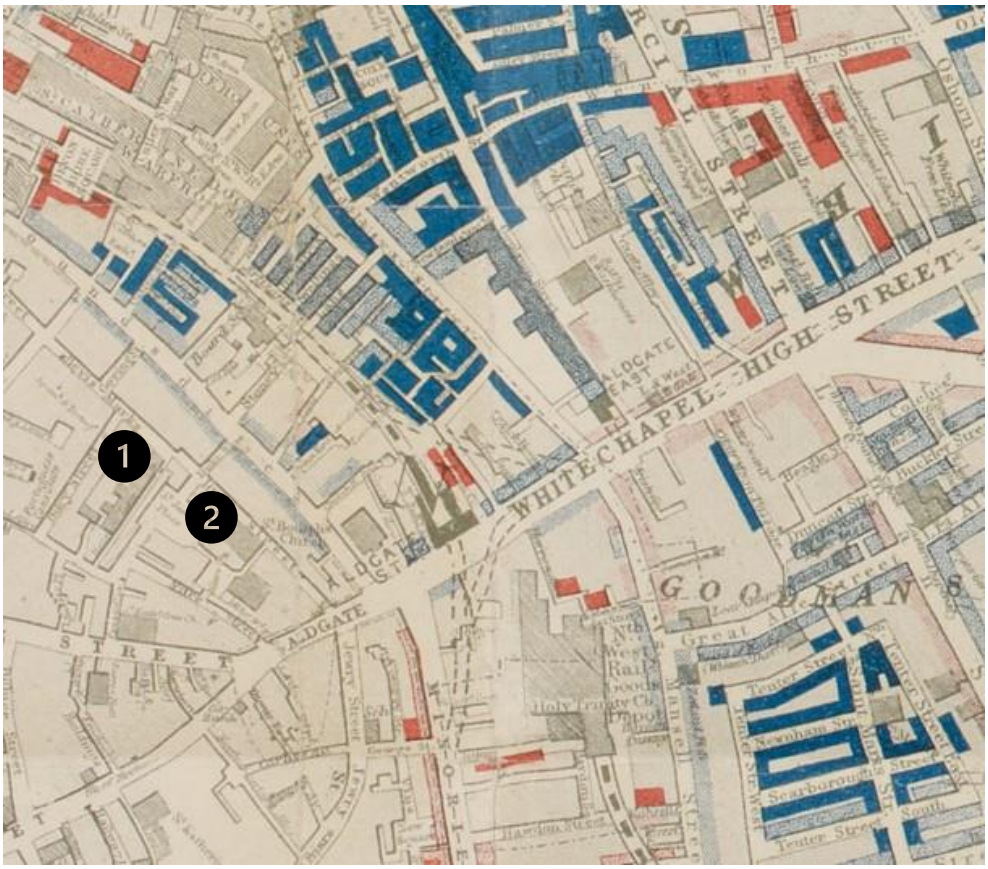

Figure 2: Detail of map of 'Jewish East London' by George Arkell, published in Charles Russell and H. S. Lewis, *The Jew in London. A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900. Showing the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks (1) and the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place (2). British Library Collection Items (accessed 14 May 2020) https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/jewish-east-london.

What is Anglo-Jewry/Who were the 'British Jews'?

The following chapter will lay out in detail the two 'grand narratives' of Victorian Anglo-Jewish history – political emancipation and religious reform – in musical terms; in other words, how Jewish music was

[25] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Introduction: The Transcendent Moment of Jewish Modernism', in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Bohlman (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 2. Bohlman's narrative of modernism begins in earnest in the 1880s, yet his interpretation coincides in part with my understanding of the use of music to indicate Jewish progress in earlier decades of the nineteenth century.

observed, evaluated and adapted in British synagogues to reflect changing circumstances for the Jewish community. For now, it is worth outlining these narratives in brief in order to clarify two terms which I have used continually since the start of this dissertation, the origins of which are specific, yet which generally have much a broader usage.

The 'Anglo-Jewish' community around which my research is based had, at its core, a relatively small yet influential subsection of Victorian Jews, whose undertakings have shaped the Anglo-Jewish musical tradition to the present day. The Jewish community in Victorian Britain was not large, but it was varied, and not – in official terms – a united community at all. They were principally from two denominations which came to Britain from outside: the Sephardim originated largely from Spain, Portugal, and Holland, while the Ashkenazim came from Central and, increasingly, Eastern Europe. The former had established themselves in Britain following the readmission of Jews in 1656, followed by the Ashkenazim at the end of the seventeenth century. The synagogues for the two communities were minutes apart from one another in the East End of London, where the majority also resided: the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue was erected on Bevis Marks for the Sephardim, and the Great Synagogue was established in Duke's Place for the Ashkenazim (see Figure 2).[26] Other than some differences in worship practice – particularly the pronunciation of Hebrew text – there was an immediate social discrepancy between the two denominations. The Sephardim, while ultimately smaller in number, advanced financially and socially due to the business and mercantile experience brought from abroad. By the mid-nineteenth century, there were between 35,000 and 40,000 Jews living in Britain, most of whom could be considered 'native-born'.[27] Two-thirds of this population lived in London. Despite their native status, distinctions between Sephardim and Ashkenazim prevailed. Several Sephardi families helped to form London's elite, with many others taking a place in the middle- and upper-classes. By contrast, only a handful of Ashkenazi families had attained similar success by the same period. While the Ashkenazim had arrived in greater numbers, the persecution they had experienced in their countries of origin left the majority unable to maintain secure employment, and they subsequently gained a reputation for impoverishment. This was revived in 1870, at the start of a thirty-year period of Jewish immigration from the pogroms of Russia. The 100,000 Ashkenazi individuals who arrived in England in the lead-up to the twentieth century contributed to the notion that Jews were alien, unwilling to assimilate and upheld worship and social practices at odds with those adhered to by upstanding British

[26] Figure 2 is part of a larger map titled 'Jewish East London', published in 1900. The Great Synagogue is labelled 'Jews' Church'. See 'Jewish East London; British Library Collection Items' (accessed 14 May 2020) for a full map, publication details and key https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/jewish-east-london.

[27] Israel Feinstein, *Jewish Society in Victorian England: Collected Essays* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993), 109.

citizens. They were also accused of disproportionately high levels of criminality as a result of their squalid living conditions and monopoly over the streets of the East End.[28]

During the Victorian period, the Jewish elite (which included both Sephardi and Ashkenazi families such as the Goldsmids, Mocattas, Montefiores and Rothschilds) resided in the more salubrious areas of West London and governed most aspects of Jewish life. Later collectively known as the 'Cousinhood' due to what Endelman refers to as 'their exceptionally high degree of consanguinity', they not only had a financial hold on the two synagogues, they also felt obliged to support the assimilation and education of sections of the Jewish community which they deemed less 'British' due to their financial, cultural and intellectual standing.[29] The 1830s and 1840s saw the establishment of the Chief Rabbinate and the growing prominence of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, both designed in part to demonstrate the Cousinhood's civility, religious authority and willingness to be involved in official governmental procedures. They saw themselves as British, and were accepted socially (and often relied upon financially) by London's bourgeoisie; however, they remained figures of suspicion, victims of stereotyping and lingering beliefs that Jewish allegiance was, above all, to Jerusalem and

[28] A clear description of the impact of Eastern European Jewish immigration on the (often generalised) perceptions towards British Jews at the end of the nineteenth century can be found in Dennis Grube, 'The New Jewish Threat', in *At the Margins of Victorian Britain: Politics, Immorality and Britishness in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 97-107. While earlier histories of British Jews often fail to examine this wave of immigration, the detailed work of Cecil Roth and V. D. Lipman, among others, nonetheless provided details regarding statistics, residential areas and professions still used by historians today. See Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) and Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950* (London: Watts & Co., 1954). There are also many more recent accounts, including Endelman, *The Jews of Modern Britain* and Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[29] Todd M. Endelman, 'Communal Solidarity among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London', *Victorian Studies* 28/3 (1985): 491-526. Endelman uses the year 1870 to give an example not only of the 'extent to which governance of the community was "a family affair"', but also the positions of authority held by these individuals in both Jewish and secular organisations: 'Sir Anthony de Rothschild (1810-1876) became the first president of the United Synagogue that year. The president of the Board of Guardians at the time was Lionel Louis Cohen (1832-1887), foreign banker and stock broker, who also served as a vice-president of the United Synagogue. Sir Anthony was a grandson of the merchant Levi Barent Cohen (1740-1808), who had settled in London around 1770; Lionel Louis Cohen [was] his great-grandson, as was the other vice-president of the United Synagogue in 1870, Sampson Lucas (1821-1879), while in the City both Sir Anthony and Lucas sat as directors of the Alliance Insurance Company. The treasurer of the Board of Guardians was the Viennese-born Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839-1898), who had married his cousin Evelina, a niece of Sir Anthony. Sir Moses Montefiore headed the Board of Deputies. Through his wife, a daughter of Levi Barent Cohen, he was related to Nathan Mayer Rothschild (1777-1836), whose wife was another of Levi Barent Cohen's daughters, and thus Sir Moses was uncle to Sir Anthony. The latter was married, in turn, to a niece of Sir Moses, Louisa (1821-1910), the daughter of Abraham Montefiore (1788-1824) and Henrietta Rothschild (1791-1866). Montefiores and Rothschilds were also linked through the Alliance Insurance Company, which the brothers-in-law Nathan Mayer Rothschild and Moses Montefiore had launched in 1824. A similar sketch could be drawn for almost any year in the Victorian period.' ('Communal Solidarity', 495-496).

fellow 'Israelites'.[30] The Jewish elite started to campaign for an official acknowledgment of their equality through political emancipation, and examined qualities of their own behaviour and worship practice in order to anglicise all aspects of their life, including synagogue services. It was this understanding which dictated much of the political and religious development of the century, itself led by those members of the Anglo-Jewish elite. Politically speaking, Jewish emancipation only affected those of a certain financial and social standing. Following the removal of civil disabilities for all non-Anglicans, the principal barrier for Jews was a new and explicitly Christian oath of allegiance required upon taking on a position of responsibility, such as Parliamentary membership.[31] The conflict remained between the Jewish upper classes and – principally – the House of Lords, who continued to block any attempts at emancipation until 1858.

Coinciding with these political campaigns were internal attempts to amend Anglo-Jewish synagogue practice. The desire for religious reform – which led to the foundation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews in 1840 – was another attempt to adopt 'British' values by imposing structures which inspired more decorous and dedicated worship, thus creating an accessible service for Jews who had become unfamiliar with or apathetic towards synagogue practice. Music was fundamental to this restructuring, with the introduction of choral music and, in the West London Synagogue from 1859, organ accompaniment bringing a gravitas to synagogue services. This new style of synagogue music was designed – and specifically arranged or composed – to replicate the style of hymn- and anthem-singing which had drawn worshippers back to the church during the mid-century. At the same time, a general improvement of the musical quality of Jewish worship reflected the standards that the upper and middle classes expected based on their cultural experience of musical performance in the home and recital hall.

The term 'Anglo-Jewish', itself a construct of the nineteenth century and interchangeable with 'British Jews', is one which carries multiple significances.[32] In addition to referring to Jews living in Britain, the term took on a new meaning as the drive for political emancipation led a proportion of the Jewish community to emphasise their dual heritage, with 'Jewishness' and 'Britishness' carrying equal

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[30] Tony Kushner describes the double-standards held towards the Jewish elite by the British aristocracy, who 'spent many of their weekends enjoying lavish Jewish hospitality yet agreeing amongst themselves that their surrounds were tasteless, vulgar and, ultimately, "un-English".' See 'Heritage and Ethnicity: An Introduction', in *The Jewish Heritage in British History*, ed. Kushner, 9.

[31] For instance, Francis Henry Goldsmid was the first Jew to be called to the Bar, in 1833.

[32] While derived from the Latin for 'English' or 'of England', the prefix 'Anglo-' within this context, as in many others, refers more broadly to Britain/the United Kingdom. The Oxford English Dictionary further defines 'Anglo-Jewish' as '[o]f or relating to the Jews in England (or Britain). Of a person: that is a Jewish native or inhabitant of England (or Britain).' See entries for 'Anglo-' in the *Cambridge Dictionary* and *Oxford English Dictionary*, and 'Anglo-Jewish' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (accessed 10 July 2019 and 12 July 2020) https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/anglo; https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/7579?rskey=hPSc50&result=4&isAdvanced=false#eid; https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/271269#eid127285476.

weight. While the prefix 'Anglo-' seems to have originated in the early nineteenth century, the first use of the term 'Anglo-Jewish' I have found in the Jewish press appears in the *Voice of Jacob* in 1842; however, it is likely that it had been used in common parlance prior to this date due to the casual nature with which it is used by the paper's proprietor and correspondents, referring to the establishment of an 'Anglo-Jewish press'.[33] By the late century, organisations and events such as the 'Anglo-Jewish Association' founded in 1871 and the 1887 'Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition' helped to dissipate the term across Jewish and non-Jewish circles, in deliberate attempts to undo the negative reputation of Jews in England.

By contrast, the term 'British Jews' to describe Jews living in Britain had been in existence at least as long as the Board of Deputies of British Jews, founded in 1760 (first under the title the 'London Committee of Deputies of British Jews'); however, it appears that multiple definitions or implications for the expression featured in the Jewish press from the *Voice of Jacob*'s first issue in September 1841.[34] This was not only as part of ongoing discussions regarding emancipation, but also in reference to the ownership of the term by the newly-established West London Synagogue of British Jews, at which Verrinder became the organist in 1859. While the West London Synagogue's statement of national identity was fundamental to its congregation, many of whom led the drive towards political equality for Jews and were important, affluent figures in British society, it jarred with other communities who disapproved of the appropriation of the term 'British Jews' to be synonymous with religious and cultural reform in the synagogue. The *Voice of Jacob* itself was against the actions which led to the foundation of the West London Synagogue and its ideologies, which they felt demonstrated an apparent disregard of rabbinic authority, both historic and current.[35] To that end, a series of articles appeared in the newspaper over the months after its foundation attempting to define the religious, political, and social status of the 'British Jew'. One such feature was a striking poem found in the first issue of the paper, which emphasised the irony of '[a] Jewish child' born in Britain being considered anything other than

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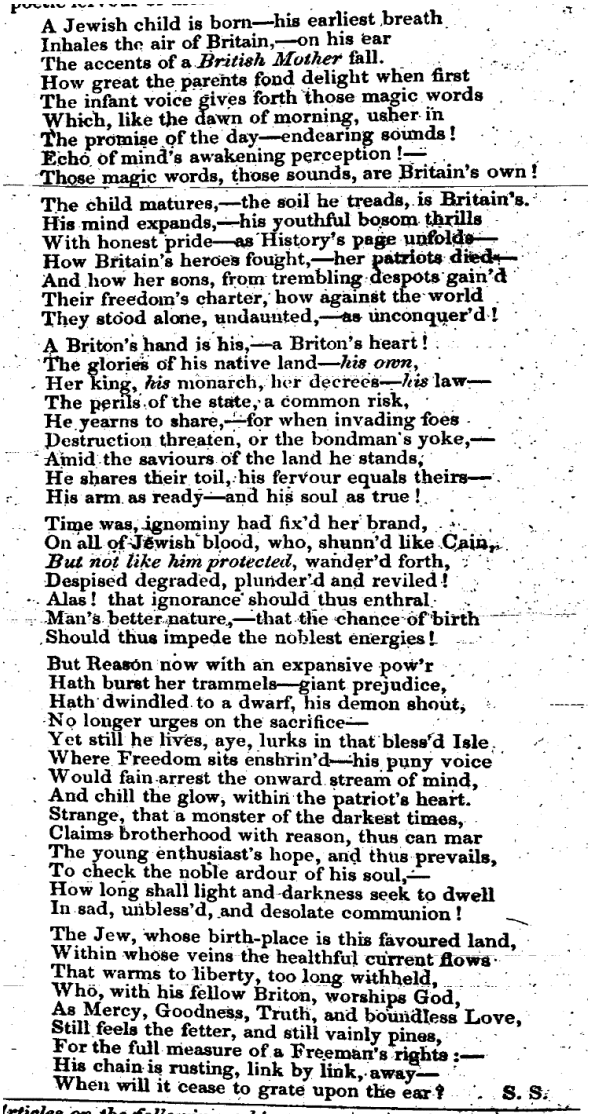
[33] 'The Proprietor of "The Voice of Jacob" – to the Jewish Public', *Voice of Jacob*, 5 August 1842. The *Voice of Jacob* was initially Britain's only Jewish newspaper, founded in 1841 a few weeks prior to the *Jewish Chronicle*, which ultimately succeeded it to become the leading national Jewish newspaper with a significant readership to this day. For a history of the *Jewish Chronicle*, see David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[34] The Board of Deputies was established 'to pay homage to George III on his accession to the throne', and gradually grew in stature to the point it was recognised by Parliament in the 1830s (when it was under the presidency of Moses Montefiore) as a committee to discuss political and public affairs of relevance to the Jewish population of Britain. See 'Board of Deputies of British Jews', National Archives (accessed 10 July 2019) https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/d7400fe4-5ce9-4a31-b15c-786cac0eb941.

[35] Cesarani briefly outlines the *Voice of Jacob*'s anti-Reform sentiments in *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, 10. Upon its foundation, the *Jewish Chronicle* was apparently no less in favour of Reform, despite its declaration that '[o]ur creed is peace to all mankind – opposition to none, and love of God' (12). Interestingly, however, one of the early contributors to the *Voice of Jacob*, Abraham Benisch, later became Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* and demonstrated himself to be in support of the Reform Synagogue, having been a long-term friend of Albert Löwy, the Synagogue's second minister.

British. While intending to remain neutral on many of the leading considerations of the day, the Editors printed the poem by 'S. S.' with the caveat that '[w]hile we do not pledge ourselves to the direct advocacy of any question by the impartial opening of our columns, our readers will thank us for the opportunity of enjoying the poetic fervour of these lines.'[36] Although written with a typically Victorian passion for the polemic, the poem is nonetheless worth viewing in full (see Figure 3), as it provides a perfect example of the definition of 'Britishness' as seen through Anglo-Jewish eyes, undermining accusations of 'foreignness' and anti-British loyalties.



A Jewish child is born—his earliest breath
Inhales the air of Britain,—on his ear
The accents of a *British Mother* fall.
How great the parents fond delight when first
The infant voice gives forth those magic words
Which, like the dawn of morning, usher in
The promise of the day—endearing sounds!
Echo of mind's awakening perception!—
Those magic words, those sounds, are Britain's own!

The child matures,—the soil he treads, is Britain's.
His mind expands,—his youthful bosom thrills
With honest pride—as History's page unfolds—
How Britain's heroes fought,—her patriots died—
And how her sons, from trembling despots gain'd
Their freedom's charter, how against the world
They stood alone, undaunted,—as unconquer'd!

A Briton's hand is his,—a Briton's heart!
The glories of his native land—*his own*,
Her king, *his* monarch, her decrees—*his* law—
The perils of the state, a common risk,
He yearns to share,—for when invading foes
Destruction threaten, or the bondman's yoke,—
Amid the saviours of the land he stands,
He shares their toil, his fervour equals theirs—
His arm as ready—and his soul as true!

Time was, ignominy had fix'd her brand,
On all of Jewish blood, who, shunn'd like Cain,
But not like him protected, wander'd forth,
Despised degraded, plunder'd and reviled!
Alas! that ignorance should thus enthral
Man's better nature,—that the chance of birth
Should thus impede the noblest energies!

But Reason now with an expansive pow'r
Hath burst her trammels—giant prejudice,
Hath dwindled to a dwarf, his demon shout,
No longer urges on the sacrifice—
Yet still he lives, aye, lurks in that bless'd Isle
Where Freedom sits enshrin'd—his puny voice
Would fain arrest the onward stream of mind,
And chill the glow, within the patriot's heart.
Strange, that a monster of the darkest times,
Claims brotherhood with reason, thus can mar
The young enthusiast's hope, and thus prevails,
To check the noble ardour of his soul,—
How long shall light and darkness seek to dwell
In sad, unbless'd, and desolate communion!

The Jew, whose birth-place is this favoured land,
Within whose veins the healthful current flows
That warms to liberty, too long withheld,
Who, with his fellow Briton, worships God,
As Mercy, Goodness, Truth, and boundless Love,
Still feels the fetter, and still vainly pines,
For the full measure of a Freeman's rights:—
His chain is rusting, link by link, away—
When will it cease to grate upon the ear?

S. S.

Figure 3: Poem by 'S. S.'. *Voice of Jacob,* 16 September 1841.

Such writing so early in the narrative of the Jewish press demonstrates that to the *Voice of Jacob*'s albeit small pool of subscribers (presumably including the 'prominent London Jews' – among

[36] *Voice of Jacob*, 16 September 1841.

them Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Lionel de Rothschild and Baron Anthony de Rothschild – who had helped to fund the newspaper), the true definition of 'Britishness' was high on the agenda for Jews whose social and political life was under public scrutiny.[37] As David Cesarani identifies, much of this was a result of the widespread reaction to the Damascus Affair in 1840, in which thirteen Syrian Jews were accused of murdering a Franciscan monk in Damascus and variably tortured, murdered or forced to convert by officials. The reaction from European and American Jewish communities included a visit by Sir Moses Montefiore to plea for the release of the nine living prisoners.[38] The worldwide shock and resolution to the events was an indication not only of the unity of the Jewish people across the world, but also a reminder that Jewish life within Christian society was vulnerable. As Cesarani put it, the Damascus Affair 'deeply affected Jews and made them aware of the paramount need for an organ of self-defence and communication'; while his implication is that the Anglo-Jewish community desired a medium through which to communicate the news and affairs of the day to one another, it seems likely that the content of the *Voice of Jacob* was also written to portray an image of national loyalty to any potential readers outside of the faith.[39] Moreover, as demonstrated in an article by 'A Foreigner', what was written as a declaration of 'the role that English Jews could play in the assistance of their less fortunate brethren abroad' could also be interpreted as an acknowledgment of gratitude for the relative freedom allowed to British Jews, in a pre-cursor to the documents printed in the later century which attempted to counteract the impact of Russian Jewish immigrants.[40]

While much of the *Voice of Jacob*'s early work was, on the surface, a response to national and international politics, the establishment of an outlet promoting Jewish news, opinion and cultural activity aimed to normalise and bring to prominence the everyday life of the 'British Jew'. It is important to acknowledge, however, that these attempts to interweave religious and national heritage are merely part of a larger issue for Jews and Jewish history both at the time and since. Discussions and debates which have appeared in the media over the last few years, and as recently as mid-2020, indicate that the question of Jewish national loyalty is still misunderstood.[41] The assumption that Jews and the Jewish community are somehow separate or 'Other' has filtered into many walks of life, including

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[37] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, 9.

[38] Gotthard Deutsch and M. Franco, 'Damascus Affair', *Jewish Encyclopedia Online* (accessed 29 July 2019) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4862-damascus-affair.

[39] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, 9.

[40] Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry*, 10. Cesarani identifies 'A Foreigner' as Abraham Benisch.

[41] Beth Alexander, a fellow member of the Cambridge University Jewish Society in the late-2000s, recently wrote in the *Times of Israel* of the dichotomy felt by many Jews between loyalty to the UK and loyalty to Israel, and the significance of feeling compelled to define one's Jewish identity as a defence mechanism. See 'VE Day in the Eyes of a British Jew', *Times of Israel* (accessed 29 June 2020) https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/ve-day-in-the-eyes-of-a-british-jew/. A two-part series on BBC 2 in 2018, 'We are British Jews', served to demonstrate the diversity of the present Jewish community in Britain while also exploring the varied levels and types of anti-Semitism still prevalent in the UK. See 'We are British Jews', BBC (accessed 29 June 2020) https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0bjj191.

academia. As such, while my research focuses on understanding primary material in terms of the obvious 'othering' of Judaism, Jews and Jewish music, a question also remains regarding the positioning of this work in a wider academic context. The remainder of this chapter outlines a small selection of theories regarding the place of Judaism and Jews within Victorian British society, British history, and musicology. Within this framework, Verrinder's contribution to the documenting and moulding of an Anglo-Jewish musical tradition is an early example of an ongoing attempt to promote the legacy of British Jews.

Constructing Identity: Anglo-Jewry in context

The past century has demonstrated multiple approaches to Anglo-Jewish topics, even within Jewish Studies. Work on social histories from the 1970s onwards made space for discussions which had been overlooked or omitted in previous accounts, with many more documents discussing the future of Anglo-Jewish research, and how and why the subject requires more detailed attention. Todd Endelman, David Cesarani, and Dennis Grube are among those who have indicated that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century histories of the Jews in Britain glossed over less salubrious elements in favour of those aspects which demonstrated the significance of Jews in British society. Cesarani claims that, from the 1880s, 'Anglo-Jewry began to construct its heritage': first, through the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition and the foundation of the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1893 – all organised by members of the Anglo-Jewish upper classes and established to demonstrate the long and loyal history of British Jews; and later by Jewish historians who, amidst the unease and patriotism of the two world wars, wished to affirm the continued Jewish contribution to Britain.[42] Endelman is disparaging of such historical accounts, which ignore 'the Jewish heritage in Tower Hamlets' in preference for that found 'in the grounds of a stately home'.[43] Grube's work on 'the margins of Victorian Britain', meanwhile, as a rare example of Jewish history written into larger British historical research, implicitly acknowledges the place of all Victorian Jews on the periphery of British society, despite the attempts of turn-of-the-century historians to emphasise the role of certain influential and affluent Jews in British life.

As the poem in Figure 3 indicates, however, this construction appears to have commenced several decades previously, with strongly worded expressions of British solidarity taking centre-stage in the earliest issues of the Jewish press. At the very least, such obvious displays of Anglo-Jewish assimilation stand in stark contrast – politically as well as culturally, architecturally and musically – with previous generations of persecuted Jews across Europe, whose default position was to maintain a

[42] David Cesarani, 'Dual Heritage, or a Duel of Heritages?', in *The Jewish Heritage in British History*, ed. Kushner, 30.

[43] Cesarani, 'Dual Heritage, or a Duel of Heritages?', 39.

low profile.[44] Furthermore, the proliferation of a constructed and idealised history of British Jewry since the mid-century has, to a degree, compounded an existing problem regarding the absence of Jewish topics in mainstream accounts. Given the apparent 'success' of Jewish emancipation and relative affluence of those who wrote the original sources, there has often been a question of how best to approach Anglo-Jewish history, on the grounds that it is not 'very exciting' or 'that important' in comparison with international Jewry.[45] There is also an implicit indication – particularly in Endelman's works – that those who devised and propagated this history were also responsible for the decline of Anglo-Jewry, and confused the Jewish narrative by refusing to adhere to the impoverished, persecuted and foreign identity most familiar to historians.[46]

While late-nineteenth century Anglo-Jewish writers hoped to dispel the theory of Jewish 'otherness', it was not their intention for Jewish history to disappear, but to 'itself be emancipated and given equal rights and expression'.[47] In his lecture to the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1897, Joseph Jacobs wrote of the desire for assimilation and social progression that:

> [w]e English Jews have a further incentive to the higher life. As we hold to the past as Jews, we can look forward to the future as Englishmen, now that we have been admitted on the closest terms into the great nation with whose future history that of the habitable globe is inextricably bound up. A study like that of Anglo-Jewish history, which thus deals with the great world movements of the past, and connects them with noble hopes for the future, can surely claim the interest of all Englishmen and Jews who have a care for the destinies of mankind.[48]

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[44] Sharman Kadish refers to the changing architectural landscape across European synagogues, which sees a shift from 'hidden spaces' towards lavish buildings. I shall address these issues more in the following chapter. See Kadish, 'Constructing Identity', 387.

[45] Tony Kushner, quoting David Cannadine, 'Heritage and Ethnicity: An Introduction', 9.

[46] Endelman's writing throughout his career criticises the Jewish upper classes for their lack of religious observance and intellectual interest in Judaism, accusing them of prioritising social and cultural progress over both religious and secular education. As such, Anglo-Jewish history was, from the nineteenth century to the late twentieth, dependent on biased, amateur historians. Furthermore, Endelman claims that this apathy, and the varying means of Jewish observance found among the elite, inspired the widespread dissolution of practicing Jews in Britain, 'marrying out' and disinterest in Jewish learning. See 'Communal Solidarity' and *The Jews of Britain*, 257-270.

[47] David S. Katz, 'The Marginalization of Early Modern Anglo-Jewish History', in *The Jewish Heritage in British History*, ed. Kushner, 74. Cesarani also writes: 'The readmission, the community of the resettlement and the emancipation period offered the perfect synthesis of Jewish and English heritage: they melded together the story of the Jews with the notion of progress towards a liberal society, the glorious national institute of Parliament, and the careers of statemen such as Cromwell, Disraeli and Gladstone, heroic and quintessentially English figures.' ('Dual Heritage, or a Duel of Heritages?', 36.)

[48] Joseph Jacobs, 'The typical character of Anglo-Jewish history', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 10/2 (1898): 237.

Similarly, historian James Picciotto (1830-1897) wrote of his 1875 book *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* that although it was 'written by a Jew for Jews', he hoped it would be of interest to Christians, 'whose faith was founded by members of the Jewish race'.[49] Picciotto's account is perhaps indicative of the ongoing quest to normalise and dissipate Jewish history. Its subject matter – which dealt principally with the historical and political details of the Jews' return to Britain, Emancipation and Disabilities acts, opposition to reform, and the Jewish press – became the model for future histories. The musician and West London Synagogue member Charles K. Salaman's 1882 *Jews As They Are* (and its second edition, published in 1885) took a more defensive approach, attempting to examine common misconceptions about Jews and Judaism and demonstrate why they were unjust or untrue.[50] While keener than Picciotto to explore the everyday lives and personalities of the Jewish population and avoid discriminatory generalisations, Salaman conversely also imposed generalisations of his own – both on Jews and on others – to indicate that there were as many variants in character among the Jews as there were 'among Christians and other religious denominations'.[51] These accounts demonstrate the continued hope well into the end of the nineteenth century that both the Anglo-Jewish community, and its history, could be assimilated. They also challenge Cesarani's assumption that the construction of an Anglo-Jewish heritage began in the 1880s; as my dissertation will also demonstrate, these works (Salaman's in particular) are built on decades of social, political, and cultural attempts to naturalise the Anglo-Jewish population.

Based on the literature to date, the emancipation of Anglo-Jewish history has not yet happened in mainstream historical writing. A quick search through the contents and index pages of several histories of Britain and British music suggests that Jewish topics rarely feature, even in accounts of religious practice.[52] If such topics do surface at all, they invariably repeat the narrative of political

[49] James Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (London: Trübner & Co., 1875), vi.

[50] Charles K. Salaman, *Jews As They Are*, second edition (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1885).

[51] Salaman, *Jews As They Are*, 8. Other ironies include the assumption of the Jews' 'superior intelligence' (21) and position as 'God's "chosen people"' (26), against frequent references to the 'stupidity' and 'ignorance' of 'the Christians'.

[52] Interestingly, Janice Carlisle's *Picturing Reform in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) does not appear to include discussions of either Jewish political or religious reform. David Cannadine's *Victorious Century: The United Kingdom, 1800-1906* (London: Allen Lane, 2017) could be considered one of the more successful recent general histories of Victorian Britain with regards to his acknowledgement of Jewish topics relating to policy, social and racial prejudice and the activities of Jewish individuals. Cannadine's approach is one of refreshing subtlety; the 'Jewish' point is not laboured, yet – unlike in other similar histories – it is mentioned alongside other areas of Victorian society which emphasise the period's dislike of social and religious difference. It does highlight an inevitable challenge for historians of the period in that the 'Jewish' history of Victorian Britain remains, on the surface, one of 'otherness' – whether in the Jewish aspects of the anti-alien acts of the late century, or simply due to the necessity of acknowledging an individual's Jewishness regardless of whether this influenced, or was related to, the activities being discussed. While recent studies (such as Cannadine's) which refer to someone's Jewishness first and foremost feel problematic, to ignore their Jewish identity would be to negate their experience within Victorian society; moreover, it would risk contributing to an extended form of anti-Jewish prejudice itself.

emancipation and the demand for social equality. While not the whole picture, there is still a question of whether this narrow window of history – albeit a kind of 'victor's history' – demonstrates the successful steps made so far, and the necessary steps still to be made. Colin Richmond places this in context by indicating instances of neglect in accounts of historic persecution of Jewish communities in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, where seemingly unsavoury acts undertaken against the Jewish population have been glossed over entirely. In fact, Richmond reports occasions where historic Jewish persecution has been justified or defended due to its apparent inevitability, with some characters being praised for the 'mild' manner in which they persecuted the Jewish population during a given period.[53] He does, however, also make a valid point regarding the separate treatment of Jewish history by raising the question, 'why does it have to be a history of Jews in medieval Oxford which discusses the Jews of Oxford in the middle ages?'.[54] David S. Katz, in the same collection of essays, indirectly answers this question by noting that, for writers outside the Jewish faith, Jewish history 'remains inaccessible, obscured behind a veil of exotic Oriental languages and a battery of unfamiliar practices'.[55]

In Britain, the additional 'messiness' of multiple Jewish origins, social interactions, and religious and cultural practices have in some cases reinforced rather than broken down the notion of a collectively incomprehensible 'Jewishness', only in part dissipated by attempts to prove allegiance to British customs and values. An absence of the Jews from some historical accounts is counteracted by a widespread notion of 'foreignness' in others. Many nineteenth-century sources indicate perceptions of a universal Jewish 'nation', a collective identity which unites all Jews across all time periods and geographical spheres. More recent accounts acknowledge that this is an essence of Jewishness developed over centuries, which has had repercussions for defining Jewish identity. Esther Benbassa writes that '[i]n the West, the Jew is the other. He is an intimate other, in some sort'.[56] She follows up this observation – which neatly summarises the situation for Jews in early-Victorian Britain – with one which is also pursued in other writing about Jewish identity and heritage:

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[53] Colin Richmond, 'Englishness and Medieval Anglo-Jewry', in *The Jewish Heritage in British History*, ed. Kushner, 45-46. Richmond not only quotes a section about Jewish topics in Michael Prestwich's *Edward I* (1988), in which it is written that 'the expulsion itself went surprisingly smoothly, and was not the occasion for massacres, *as it might well have been*' (Richmond's italics), but also regales an event at which he received a comment that the Jewish Expulsion 'had been undertaken and conducted in a comparatively humane manner, and [Richmond] was to realize […] that this was a reason for self-congratulation. There was no indication that the speaker was aware the Expulsion might not have taken place.'

[54] Richmond, 'Englishness and Medieval Anglo-Jewry', 43.

[55] Katz, 'The Marginalization of Early Modern Anglo-Jewish History', 61-62.

[56] Esther Benbassa, 'Otherness, Openness and Rejection in Jewish Context', *Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions (JISMOR)* 5 (2010): 16.

> The fact remains, however, that the Jew is not simply the West's other. […] Jewish society too has put the image of the other to work in constructing and defining itself. It has made use of the non-Jewish other and the Jewish other.[57]

In writing generally about Western perceptions of Jewishness, Benbassa summarises what Katz has also described; namely, a phenomenon in Jewish studies in which 'historians of Jewish England meet with historians of Jewish France and Jewish Germany, and look for common features rather than trying to integrate Jewish history into the surrounding culture.'[58] She, Katz and Cesarani all agree that 'Jewishness', or Jewish identity, is a construction, put in place to define both the 'other' and the 'self'. Unlike Cesarani and Katz, however, Benbassa does not appear to see this as something of which to be critical. Grube also intimates that the 'construction' of an Anglo-Jewish identity mirrors a simultaneous examination and redefinition of British identity throughout the nineteenth century. He identifies the difference between the perceived 'true Britons' of 1829, who were 'Protestants who bore allegiance to the "ancient" religious traditions of Britain', and the same in 1895, who were 'morally upright heterosexuals of whichever religious persuasion'.[59] He argues that across the majority of the nineteenth century, the social status for Jews changed and improved as Britain refined its 'perceptions of national identity'.[60]

Placing these observations within the context of identity theory, it becomes clear that the activities of Victorian Jews were no different to any other communal quest for self-identification. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper acknowledge that identity itself can be defined in many ways, according to human desires to categorise the self and others based on difference. As such, they effectively summarise the problems facing the Anglo-Jewish community during the nineteenth century in the following passage:

> If identity is everywhere, it is nowhere. If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal, and crystallize? If it is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications? If it is multiple, how do we understand the terrible singularity that is often striven for – and sometimes realized – by politicians seeking to transform mere categories into unitary and exclusive groups? How can we understand the power and pathos of identity politics?[61]

By the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Jewish community were working against political and social ideas of Jewishness which had 'congeal[ed] and crystallize[d]' over a number of centuries. While less

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[57] Benbassa, 'Otherness, Openness and Rejection', 16.
[58] Katz, 'The Marginalization of Early Modern Anglo-Jewish History', 74.
[59] Grube, *At the Margins of Victorian Britain*, 7.
[60] Grube, *At the Margins of Victorian Britain*, 6.
[61] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29/1 (2000): 1.

obviously or violently persecuted than Jews from other times and places, recent cultural history studies have demonstrated the import of greater accessibility to the printed word and picture – which boomed in the nineteenth century – in expanding Victorian Anglo-Jewish history beyond the emancipation narrative. Despite being critical of a constructed Anglo-Jewish heritage, Cesarani nonetheless affirms this as 'an integral part of the historiography of the time'.[62] In fact, it was principally responding to the constructed heritage of 'the Jew' which was now permeating the Victorian national and satirical press, as well as in private correspondence and conversations behind closed doors. Interestingly, anti-Jewish propaganda related more to ideas of race than of religion; in fact, a striking feature of Brubaker and Cooper's identity theory is that, where religion is mentioned, it is in relation to a personal feeling of an 'emotionally laden sense of belonging to a distinctive bounded group', while 'race', 'nation' and 'ethnicity' take precedence in discussions of an imposed or enforced identity.[63] In other words, as Benbassa corroborates, Victorian notions of Jewishness were not religious, but based in racial stereotypes which both created and defined 'the Jew':

> His very Jewishness was the work of the other. This was the ultimate denial of his own identity: he now depended entirely on the other's gaze, on this disapproving gaze that went so far as to bring him into existence through the very negation of his own being.'[64]

Physical as well as characteristic traits were deployed liberally, harking back to Shakespeare's Shylock, as well as more recent illustrations of the Dickensian Fagin – nineteenth-century images of both these characters, which were often used in the satirical press, focussed on their crooked appearance and obsession with money.[65] Again, Benbassa discusses the image of 'the Jew' which has become almost impossible to shake off, questioning '[i]s Jewishness […] indelibly engraved in the body, so that neither assimilation nor denial of one's origins is capable of effacing what cannot be effaced?'.[66] Early studies in eugenics by Victorian social scientist Francis Galton, who coined the term, used Jewish case studies

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[62] Cesarani, 'Dual Heritage, or a Duel of Heritages?', 37.

[63] Brubaker and Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', 19.

[64] Benbassa, 'Otherness, Openness and Rejection', 21.

[65] This notion of Jewish fascination with wealth, money and value – presumably exacerbated by the existence of a few affluent Jewish families within the Victorian upper classes – was liberally spread across the national and satirical press. However, in 'Jewish top wealth-holders in Britain, 1809-1909', *Jewish Historical Studies* 37 (2001): 133-161, William Rubinstein demonstrated that of British individuals who left a legacy of £100,000 or more, Jews made up only between 2.2 and 3.7 per cent (136). Furthermore, Rubinstein notes that many of these came from families outside the 'Cousinhood' and 'represent a major, but neglected category of Anglo-Jewish wealth, often of importance to the economy' (136). He also provides figures which demonstrate that '[t]he wealthiest Gentiles […] were far richer' than the wealthiest Jews (137).

[66] Benbassa, 'Otherness, Openness and Rejection in Jewish Context', 21.

in his attempts to 'match physiognomy with social behaviour, mental traits and bodily health'.[67] Another example of religious ideology turned racial was the notion that Jews should return to a Jewish state in order to fulfil Messianic prophecy. This argument both fuelled opposition to the mid-century's emancipation campaign and inspired the foundation of political Zionist movements in the late century, which Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler publicly opposed in 1897 for their potential to 'lead people to think that we Jews are not fired with ardent loyalty to the country in which it is our lot to be placed'.[68]

This barrage of subtle but deep-seated anti-Semitism implied that 'Jewishness' was viewed as an intrinsic fault of ancient lineage which could not be removed, even through conversion. Despite efforts to prove 'Britishness' through lifestyle, behaviour and recent heritage, British Jews from all classes found themselves defined as fixed, unchanging 'Others' by Victorian society. It is perhaps no surprise, therefore, that those who were able to do so resorted to documenting Anglo-Judaism – through the press, literary sources, and printed music – as a means of dissolving the well-established and enforced image of 'the Jew' as defined by the non-Jewish world. From a musical perspective, however, as will become apparent, the absence of an authoritative 'Anglo-Jewish' voice in a standardised format led to a series of complementary yet inconsistent publications, of which Verrinder's own works comprised a significant (but overlooked) contribution. Questions thus arise regarding the intended messages of these publications, their target audiences, and their role in portraying the true nature of nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish musical practices.

Towards a textual analysis of Anglo-Jewish Music

While later historians have criticised the approach taken by self-defining 'British Jews' to emphasise sameness over difference (as far as national loyalty was concerned) through a collective and constructed Anglo-Jewish heritage, the relative absence of studies which explore the community's literary and artistic contributions has aided the assumption that the period was deplete of any deep-rooted Anglo-Jewish cultural expression. Endelman's assertion that the intellectual and cultural life of Jewish Britain has, for over a century, depended on the migration of Jews from other parts of Europe, perpetuates the notion that Anglo-Jewish history is not 'very exciting'. This dissertation does not argue that Anglo-Jewish music should be celebrated for its innovation or ingenuity, nor does it promote the identification of 'sameness' cultivated by Jewish historians of previous generations; instead, it provides a more

[67] David Feldman, 'Conceiving Difference: Religion, Race and the Jews in Britain, c. 1750-1900', *Historical Workshop Journal* 76 (2013): 160-186. Feldman reports Galton's findings on his arrival to begin research at the Jews' Free School: '"As I drove to the school through the adjacent Jewish quarter, the expression of the people that struck me was their cold, scanning gaze and this was equally characteristic of the boys. I felt rightly or wrongly that every one of them was coolly appraising me at market value without the slightest interest of any other kind."' (162). To put this into perspective, Galton's study on Jewish eugenics famously later helped to drive the Nazis' anti-Jewish politics.

[68] Israel Finestein, *Jewish Society in Victorian England*, 194.

detailed examination of the ways in which music was used by the Anglo-Jewish community, to reframe our impressions of this period through an exploration of social and cultural rather than religious or national inclinations.

The *Voice of Jacob* and the *Jewish Chronicle* have provided cultural historians with a literary counterweight to the discrimination and ridicule found in the national (predominantly satirical) press. For Jewish historian Michael Ragussis, this is vital to our understanding of Anglo-Judaism in Victorian Britain. Ragussis reaffirms the plight of the 'political historian [who] may find a shortage of events on which to capitalize in Anglo-Jewish history', while praising the 'cultural and literary historian [who] can explore how profoundly the representation of Jewish identity informed English cultural life'.[69] A number of Jewish literary specialists in recent years have addressed the same point as Ragussis. Cynthia Scheinberg's introduction to an illuminating collection of essays on 'Anglo-Jewish writers in Victorian England' not only denies the void in Anglo-Jewish literature which post-war writers claimed to fill, but also aims to 'complicate our theories of how Jewish identity inflected Victorian culture – not just in the form of an abstracted, ahistorical, and mythologized "Hebraism", but rather in the specific voices of real Jewish writers whom we hope will have long lives in English literary history'. [70] Furthermore, she asserts as I do that the fortunate circumstances for Victorian Jews do not make their lives of less value to Jewish history:

> [t]he Jews in Victorian England were not only the productions of Christian imagination; on the contrary, the growing stability of a Jewish community in nineteenth century England produced a number of writers whose work has important theoretical ramifications for both Jewish studies and Victorian studies today.[71]

The research of Scheinberg and others has been vital to understanding a more personalised view of Jews in literature than the standard narratives in the works of Shakespeare, Dickens, and Eliot, although the latter does more than most to impose sympathetic attitudes towards her Jewish characters, many of whom, incidentally, exhibit an innate musical ability (a feature celebrated by many nineteenth-century

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[69] Michael Ragussis, 'Review: The "Secret" of English Anti-Semitism: Anglo-Jewish Studies and Victorian Studies', *Victorian Studies* 40/2 (1997): 299-300. The works reviewed in Ragussis' essay are Michael Galchinsky's *The Origin of the Modern Jewish Woman Writer: Romance and Reform in Victorian England* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1996); Michael Polowetzky's *Jerusalem Recovered: Victorian Intellectuals and the Birth of Modern Zionism* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 1995); and Nancy A. Harrowitz's *Antisemitism, Misogyny, and the Logic of Cultural Difference: Cesare Lombroso and Matilde Serao* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

[70] Cynthia Scheinberg, 'Introduction: Re-Mapping Anglo-Jewish Literary History', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27/1 (1999): 122. Scheinberg asserts that turn-of-the-twentieth century and post-war writers have suggested that the nineteenth century Jewish literary response to anti-Semitism was 'an "embarrassed" silence' (116).

[71] Scheinberg, 'Introduction', 117.

writers keen to promote Jewish musicianship). *Daniel Deronda* has at least two obviously Jewish characters who have worked as successful professional musicians, with others (like Deronda himself) whose distinction from the rest of 'English' society is notable through their natural musical talents which could be said to stem from their Jewish heritage.[72] Even Eliot's sympathetic portrayal of an inherently Jewish musical ability, however, indicates at a mysteriousness surrounding the music of the Jews, although the characters in *Daniel Deronda* do not expressly perform Jewish repertoire, but mostly famous operatic arias. Most nineteenth-century sources focussed not on the music itself, but on the Jewish essence which contributed to its value (or apparent lack thereof). Sander L. Gilman's detailed account of writings from across nineteenth-century Europe – including Wagner's *Das Judentum in der Musik* – demonstrates a general focus on the lack of Jewish musical sensibilities and the requirement for Jewish musicians to resort to 'mimicry' in the absence of creativity.[73] The multitude of Jewish musicians apparently pervading the British musical sphere – as referred to in *Daniel Deronda* as well as by JHSE founder Joseph Jacobs and by Benjamin Disraeli, among others – did little to appease anti-Jewish opinion, which retaliated that not only were most of these musicians performers, not composers, responsible for replicating rather than 'creating' music, but also that they were mediocre musicians celebrated merely as a consequence of their Jewish heritage.[74] These diverse approaches to Jewish music well into the twentieth century have influenced a dichotomy between those whose Jewish heritage was used to celebrate Jewish musicianship, and its active avoidance by others in order to be accepted as a performer or composer in their own right. As Gilman suggests, many musicians with familial connections to Judaism, however vague – such as Julius Benedict and Arthur Sullivan, who were also both in Verrinder's close social circle – found it difficult to escape their Jewishness when others used it in defence of high-quality musical ability.[75] Endelman acknowledges a similar phenomenon across late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish artists, writers and philosophers who wanted to be remembered as 'British' or 'English' rather than 'Jewish'.[76]

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[72] An early example of the discussion of the role of music in Eliot's literature can be found in Shirley Frank Levenson, 'The Use of Music in *Daniel Deronda*', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 24/3 (1969): 317-334. Ruth A. Solie has explored the topic more recently, investigating not just the role of music in the novel, but how it reflects Eliot's own understanding and opinion of the musical historiography of the period, including approaches to Jewish music and music performed or composed by Jews; see Solie, '"Tadpole Pleasures": Daniel Deronda as Musical Historiography', in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 153-185. Sander L. Gilman also addresses Eliot's usage of a '"natural gift"' for music in her Jewish characters; see Gilman, 'Are Jews Musical? Historical Notes on the Question of Jewish Musical Modernism and Nationalism', *Modern Judaism* 28/3 (2008): 239-256.

[73] Gilman, 'Are Jews Musical?', 242.

[74] Gilman refers to Jacobs' *The Jewish Race: A Study in National Character* (1889) and *Studies in Jewish Statistics: Social, Vital and Anthropometric* (1891), and Disraeli's 1844 novel *Coningsby* among many other sources which celebrated Jewish musical ability.

[75] Gilman, 'Are Jews Musical?', 242.

[76] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 266-267.

My exploration of Jewish music in Britain has unearthed another instance of 'othering' and displacement, almost in reverse: the relative absence of British music (of any period) in wider discussions of Jewish music. Joshua S. Walden's 2015 *Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music* features research by a number of the field's most renowned scholars, in perhaps the first collection by a British academic publisher to compile and dissipate information regarding Jewish music to a wider audience.[77] Three particular observations struck me on reading this volume, the most significant being that references to England or Anglo-Jewish practice are almost non-existent. Particularly within a British publication, this absence is striking, and implies that there is little or no mutual relevance between Anglo-Jewish music and wider discussions of Jewish music. Of the (very few) references to Jewish music in England in Walden's collection, the majority appear in David Conway's discourse on 'Jewish musicians in European music' and in James Loeffler's chapter on 'Jewish art music'.[78] While Loeffler's references relate to some degree to liturgical as well as secular practice, the implication is that worship practices influenced, and were influenced by, trends in art music and European musical developments.

Within the context of European musical history more broadly, a side-lining of British music – particularly during the nineteenth century – has been commonplace. Nicholas Temperley has acknowledged that this reflected nineteenth-century British tendencies to disregard their own nation's music as less cultivated than that of their European counterparts, with composers resorting to writing music for the church in order to fill the musical gap left between the operatic works of Italy and the instrumental works of Germany.[79] With regards to subsequent research, Temperley argued, '[p]opular and functional' music such as that championed by Victorian composers hasn't made for particularly interesting musicological study.[80] While Victorian musical culture has been researched in more depth since Temperley's discussions in the late 1980s, the focus on cultural context over musical analysis still appears to be dominant, as does a need for such research to be placed within Victorian studies or British music studies rather than wider European musicology. In other words, nineteenth-century British music is often self-contained, the circumstances governing its production being seen as very different to those across Europe more broadly. In a statement which feels very familiar to those above regarding Anglo-Jewish history, Temperley describes the English as 'on top of the world', free from the financial, cultural, or political concerns experienced by other nations during the same period.[81] As such, their musical quest for a serious national identity was slower to be developed. Within this context, the music of British Jews is doubly removed from serious musicological discussions.

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[77] Joshua S. Walden, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[78] David Conway, 'A New Song: Jewish musicians in European music, 1730-1850' and James Loeffler, 'From biblical antiquarianism to revolutionary modernism: Jewish art music, 1850-1925', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 156-186 (both chapters).

[79] Nicholas Temperley, 'The Lost Chord', *Victorian Studies* 30/1 (1986): 7-23.

[80] Temperley, 'The Lost Chord', 11.

[81] Temperley, 'The Lost Chord', 12.

The absence of Anglo-Jewish music aside, a further response to Walden's *Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music* is that, particularly in comparison with other collections in the series, the scope of the collection is vast. Described by Walden as a study 'of music in various times and places of Jewish religious and secular history', it approaches material from the Bible and the first Temple in Jerusalem to the present day; moreover, it is a study which both 'compris[es] words about Jewish music [… and] about the *words* "Jewish music"'.[82] The combination of information on the practical aspects of historic and contemporary performance with what Philip Bohlman would describe as 'ontological' writing on the subject reiterates Judah Cohen's suggestion that Jewish music falls between the clearly-defined fields of musicology, ethnomusicology and Jewish Studies.[83] The Introduction and first four chapters comprise debates by Bohlman, Cohen, Edwin Seroussi and Walden regarding the terms in which Jewish music and its related expressions – Jewishness, Diaspora and modernity, for example – have been, and should be, defined across history and current practice. The prominence given to these philosophical debates about the definition of Judaism, in place of an immediate discussion of the music itself, is my final observation. Complemented by the assertion by Mark Kligman and other contributors that 'Jewish music is neither homogeneous nor definable', the collection indicates that the current state of Jewish music research is primarily tied up with discussions of its ontological situation.[84] The very fact that Kligman's essay on 'Jewish liturgical music' is chapter six of the collection confirms theories of Jewish identity discussed above: Jewishness is perceived in more than just worship practices. Furthermore, the inclusion of a snapshot of Tina Frühauf's work on the music of nineteenth-century German-Jewish Reform (in this collection, a discussion of wider European Reform musical practices) reaffirms that even a chapter on 'Jewish liturgical music' which touches on changing musical styles across a number of centuries, as Kligman's does, cannot cover all the intricacies of a significant period of Jewish music history.[85]

Walden's collection perhaps also exemplifies a key issue faced by many contemporary scholars of Jewish music; namely, the notion that one is required to be musicologist, ethnomusicologist, and Jewish Studies researcher all in one. There is a sense in which one's area of particular interest needs placing within the full history of religious and cultural Jewish music – from the Bible onwards – and in the framework of various debates surrounding the field's very definition. My research has necessitated an exploration of a number of key terms – including modernity and Diaspora and, as I have already indicated, identity and otherness – in their relationship to historic and contemporary Judaism and Jewish music, in order that my own period of investigation can be put into its wider 'Jewish' context. Even

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[82] Walden, *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, 1.

[83] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Ontologies of Jewish Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 13.

[84] Mark Kligman, 'Jewish Liturgical Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 84.

[85] Tina Frühauf, 'The reform of synagogue music in the nineteenth century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 187-200.

within such an exploration, there is an obvious absence of British (musical) history. Bohlman's various texts on Jewish musical modernity and modernism in sacred music more broadly provide a number of examples of music as an expression of modernity across an array of time periods and geographical locations, with no mention of Britain.[86] Similarly, Slobin and Seroussi's discussions of the placement and use of music to define 'Diaspora', while in cases relevant to how I might approach Anglo-Jewish music, do not make any references to Britain as a site of major Jewish resettlement and cultural assimilation.[87]

It is perhaps telling that, at the start of this Introduction, I indicated that I have taken inspiration from Judah Cohen's recent work on nineteenth-century America as an example of Jewish music research within a musicological framework, rather than one steeped in the debates of Jewish Studies. Another example of this can be found in Frühauf's extensive work into central European synagogue musical practices. Aside from her essay in the *Cambridge Companion* (one of only three which approaches the subject of 'Jewish music' from a specifically historical angle), her detailed discussions of the organ in German-Jewish music have informed my own considerations regarding Anglo-Jewish worship. As I shall express in the following two chapters, this is not just in terms of the debates which arose from the introduction of the organ in German synagogues, but also regarding the way Frühauf frames her discussions to highlight their place in German musical history as much as Jewish music studies.[88] Sources which discuss Victorian Anglo-Jewish music in such a context generally do not exist, particularly in prominent national or international resources. Some substantial studies have been contributed in recent years by Rachel Adelstein and Barbara Borts, whose work takes the musical developments of the nineteenth century and traces them through to contemporary Reform Jewish practice, and Naomi Cohn Zentner, who has investigated the use of Sephardi musical material in Ashkenazi synagogues in London.[89] Alexander Knapp has also documented the transmission of Jewish

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[86] Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*; *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); *Revival and Reconciliation: Sacred Music in the making of European Modernity*, ed. Bohlman (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013).

[87] Mark Slobin, 'The Destiny of "Diaspora" in Ethnomusicology', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, Richard Middleton, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2012), 284-296; Seroussi, 'Jewish Music and Diaspora', *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 27-40.

[88] See Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). A comparison of this work with essays contained in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), which overall incorporate a more ethnomusicological and ontological approach to Jewishness in music, reinforces the fine line trodden by Jewish musical studies (and implies that, given its focus on more recent, specifically post-Holocaust music, different approaches are more or less suitable according to which time period or geographical location is being explored).

[89] Rachel Adelstein, 'Prayer of the People'; Barbara Borts, 'The Changing Music of British Reform Judaism', *Journal of Synagogue Music* 45/1 (2020): 40-75; Naomi Cohn Zentner, 'Sephardic Influences in the liturgy of Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews in London', *Journal of Synagogue Music* 32 (2007): 177-187. Borts' essay is a reduced

melodies across British synagogues and between the synagogue and wider society.[90] All of these scholars refer to Verrinder, his principal collection of music (*The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, a six-volume set edited with Charles Salaman), and his contemporaries in their work, and I have cited their discoveries elsewhere in this dissertation. By and large, this research has remained in the Jewish Studies or Jewish music arenas, featured in journals such as *Musica Judaica* (published by the American Society for Jewish Music), the *Journal of Synagogue Music* (a publication produced by the Cantors' Assembly in the United States), or *Jewish Historical Studies*, the journal for the Jewish Historical Society of England. Aside from my own work, I have yet to find a piece of research on pre-twentieth-century Jewish music in Britain in any national or international musicological journal.

Musicians who, alongside Verrinder, feature more prominently in this dissertation due to their specific contributions to Anglo-Jewish liturgical music, receive even less academic attention as subjects of biographical interest. Many of these individuals – for instance, Julius Mombach, Francis L. Cohen, David M. Davis, and Abraham Saqui – are remembered principally for specific compositions or musical collections. Others, such as Charles Kensington Salaman and Emanuel Aguilar, are better documented given their connections to wealthy families or other significant relatives (Aguilar's better-known sister, Grace, is one of the authors discussed in Scheinberg's work, as well as in other Anglo-Jewish literary sources).[91] The majority of biographical research undertaken on synagogue musicians and composers has been done on an ad hoc basis by professional and amateur Jewish musical directors, cantors, and historians, such as Benjamin Wolf, Eliot Alderman, and Victor and Daniel Tunkel.[92] Other, principally short, biographies can be found in the online edition of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* [sic], first published in 1906, with entries largely contributed by contemporaries Joseph Jacobs (the original compiler) and even Francis Cohen himself.[93]

In summary, a comprehensive account of Anglo-Jewish music and musicians, from the perspective of nineteenth-century British music studies, is overdue. One concession is a brief section on 'England' in David Conway's *Jewry in Music*, a work which focuses on the careers of Jewish

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version of her doctoral dissertation (see Footnote 10), while Cohn Zentner's is taken from her MA dissertation of the same title (McGill University, 2004).

[90] Alexander Knapp, 'The Influence of German Music on United Kingdom Synagogue Music Practice', *Jewish Historical Studies* 35 (1996): 167-197, and 'The significance of Meier Leon's *Yigdal* melody as a link between Jewish and Christian hymnody in eighteenth-century London', *Jewish Historical Studies* 45 (2013): 79-102.

[91] Both Salaman and Grace Aguilar have entries in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (accessed 5 November 2020): https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35910 and https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/217.

[92] See, for instance, Daniel Tunkel's report on composers whose repertoire has been performed by the Zemel Choir (accessed 5 November 2020): http://www.zemelchoir.org/the-composers/, as well as his article 'Notes on the History and Origins of the Music of the Anglo-Jewish Synagogue Tradition', *Journal of Synagogue Music* 33 (2008): 197-208. Eliot Alderman's research features in Chapters Two and Three.

[93] Jewish Encyclopedia (accessed 5 November 2020) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/.

musicians in Europe (and an expanded version of his later essay in Walden's collection).[94] Knowingly referencing Wagner's infamous essay in his title, Conway's work might feel like an extension of the tropes published by Jacobs and Disraeli in the late-nineteenth century in defence of Jewish music, were it not for his detailed illustration of interactions between the Jewish and Christian musical worlds. He focuses largely on Jewish musicians whose professions involved theatrical productions, concert performances and compositions for secular purposes – in other words, those whose work was 'separate' to their faith. However, there are one or two notable British exceptions, particularly Myer Leon ('Michael Leoni', c.1750-1796), whose work as a *chazan* (cantor) at the Great Synagogue was counterbalanced by his success in operatic roles; and *Jews As They Are* author Charles K. Salaman, a contemporary of Verrinder and a key collaborator in their work to improve synagogue music, whose career as a pianist and composer of secular repertoire began at the Royal Academy of Music at the age of ten.[95] Conway's approach acknowledges synagogue musical training much as one would indicate the merits of training within a cathedral choir; namely, that it developed musicianship, practical and theoretical ability and discipline. That this training, in many cases, prepared musicians with Jewish origins for secular or, in some instances, church music careers, is particularly relevant to my discussions of Verrinder's training for his role at the West London Synagogue. Conway's cut-off date of 1850 prevents him from discussing such matters in more detail, particularly with regard to those musicians most prominently associated with synagogue worship.

Where Conway's work perhaps falls short is in his analysis of musical examples, which adheres to a traditional model of outlining shared uses of so-called 'ancient melodies' across Jewish and non-Jewish sources. Such an analysis remains rooted in the custom of identifying 'Jewishness' without explanation of how or why such melodies were treated by different communities or individuals. In this regard, my research has unearthed some surprising critical responses to the anglicisation of British synagogue music. While some praised musicians for incorporating more 'British' sounding features, such as a choir and new, hymn-like compositions, many were quick to judge the 'inauthenticity' this introduced to Jewish liturgical music, whose origins in Eastern modes were considered the epitome of the Jewish sound. The fact that this accusation – which was made by Jews and non-Jews alike – continued to permeate descriptions of nineteenth-century Jewish music well into the twentieth century indicates expectations of the genre to be 'exotic'. Across this dissertation, I hope to use musical examples to illustrate not just the use of Jewish melodies, but their deeper significance for sacred and secular communities based on their specific musical setting.

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[94] David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[95] Leon's success as an operatic tenor can be, and was, attributed to his cantorial training and ability to improvise impressive cadenzas and vocalises. See Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 75-78 and 102. Conway also discusses the careers of John Braham and Isaac Nathan, two of the most significant British Jewish musicians of the nineteenth century, whose training began in the synagogue. See Chapter Three for further details of their work.

Returning to David Cesarani's notion of a 'constructed' Anglo-Jewish heritage, I will conclude this Introduction by questioning, as others have done, whether such a construction need continue to be perceived in a negative light. Many – such as Esther Benbassa – have indicated that it is an inevitable or essential part of Judaism. The term has been used by many to indicate a quest to develop an identity, commonly in response to notions of Jewishness imposed by others, which ultimately felt more familiar and personalised to the Jewish community itself. As I have indicated, this has been studied through political and religious history, architecture, and literature, yet not – from an Anglo-Jewish perspective – through music. In his chapter on 'Music' in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, Bohlman writes that across generations 'Jewish music not only reflected Jewish identity: it could be used to construct and strengthen identity'.[96] While written from the perspective of global Judaism, it nonetheless demonstrates the important role of music in the Anglo-Jewish narrative, given the focus in primary and secondary material on amending practices to present the British face of Judaism. In fact, the more I have placed the Anglo-Jewish aspects of my research within wider sacred and secular musical developments in nineteenth-century Britain, the more this construction appears to coincide with similar attempts to define British religious and social notions of identity. To that end, this dissertation explores Anglo-Jewish music both as a deliberate construct of British Jews and as a natural expression of a community unrestricted in their movements and social practices.

The following chapters will explore the musical developments of the Victorian synagogue, before taking examples of Verrinder's contributions to the Anglo-Jewish musical world to indicate how it was received and dispersed across Jewish and non-Jewish Britain. Chapter One outlines the political and social environment of Britain for the Jews, focusing on the standard narrative of the developing role of music to contribute to the anglicisation of Anglo-Jewish identity and worship practice. This leads into Chapter Two, which explores Verrinder's Anglican background and training prior to his appointment at the West London Synagogue, and evaluates how this influenced his earliest musical contributions to the Synagogue. A key feature of this chapter is the aligning of Verrinder's work with the ethos of the Synagogue, best achieved through an analysis of his organ and choral writing in comparison with the principles outlined in the collected sermons of the senior minister, David Woolf Marks. In Chapter Three, Verrinder's principal volumes of music, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, are placed within the context of two further collections of Jewish music published in Britain: Emanuel Aguilar and David de Sola's *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1857), and Francis Cohen and D. M. Davis' *Voice of Prayer and Praise* (1899). Through a comparison of these works, which catered for a cross-section of British Jews, I assess the exact extent to which the Jewish community was united in its goal to leave a legacy of high-quality music which looked back to its early Jewish heritage, looked ahead towards ideals of progress and

[96] Bohlman, 'Music', in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 856.

'Britishness' and, perhaps most importantly, provided a corpus of Jewish religious music for a contemporary, culturally engaged audience. The final chapter looks at Verrinder's publications, performances and lectures given beyond the Synagogue, reinforcing the importance of music for Victorian Jews, as well as their role in correcting misconceptions of Jewish life, worship and character which pervaded undercurrents of Victorian society.

The Conclusion to my dissertation, given Verrinder's own work to integrate Jewish music within wider musical performance and appreciation, poses the question of where Anglo-Jewish music research should go from here. Other Jewish studies practitioners have done in-depth studies into twentieth- and twenty-first-century British synagogue musical practices which encompass a wide breadth of institutions and styles – acknowledging a continued modification and development as communities change and respond to environmental factors. Many of these researchers (such as Knapp, Cohn Zentner and Borts) indicate the importance of the Victorian Jewish choral tradition as part of their case studies' musical heritage, without exploring the environment – or environments – in which this tradition was formed. Perhaps now is the time, as Susan Wollenberg has expressed, to 'present material towards a rethinking of a neglected area of musical history'.[97]

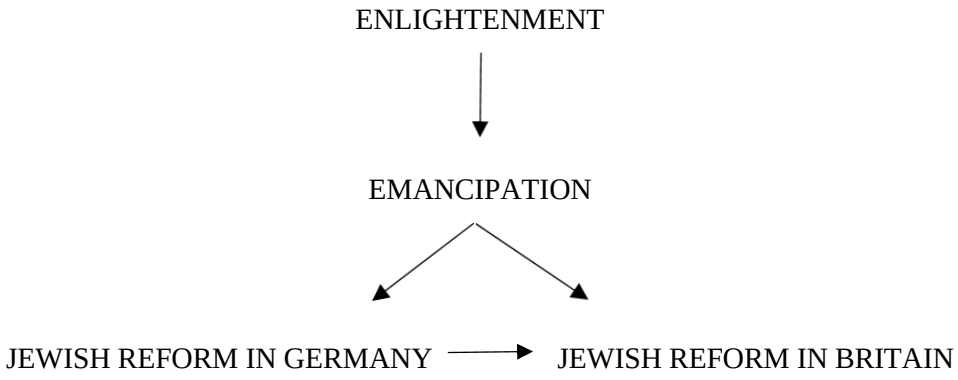
[97] Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder and Music at the West London Synagogue', 60.

CHAPTER ONE

Music for 'British Jews': Policy and Practice

'Every micro-study that flows into the literature has to start with a panorama, move to a long shot, and progressively zoom in to account for local affiliation and taste'.[1]

Mark Slobin's comment on the nature of musical research of diasporic communities is a good place to begin my study of nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish music. I have been struck during my research at how often I am pulled back towards late-eighteenth-century France and subsequently early-nineteenth-century Germany, regardless of whether I am exploring political, religious, or musical aspects of the Anglo-Jewish community. The reconfiguration of Jewish religious, social, and national identity in the years following the Enlightenment serves as the starting point of many narratives regarding the place of Jews in nineteenth-century Europe. Connected through the concurrent Central and Eastern European *Haskalah* movement, often referred to as the 'Jewish Enlightenment', for many decades changes to religious worship which subsequently became known as the 'reform' of Jewish practice have been perceived to be of nineteenth-century German origin. The panoramic view of the standard narrative of nineteenth-century European Jewry, in relation to Britain, often looks something like this:



But how helpful are these European references to our understanding of Anglo-Jewish music of the period? Various writers have connected the well-documented changes to synagogue music that formed part of German-Jewish Reform to the Anglo-Jewish narrative, but whether a clear path of influence can

[1] Mark Slobin, 'The Destiny of "Diaspora" in Ethnomusicology', in *The Cultural Study of Music*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2012), 100.

be traced in terms of behaviour and musical style (the inclusion of choral music, for instance, and uses of the organ) remains debatable.[2]

Edwin Seroussi has pointed out that the binaries so often imposed on Jews and Jewish topics – homeland versus Diaspora, East versus West, Ashkenazi versus Sephardi – have 'obliterated countless nuances based on place and time'.[3] This had a particular effect on pre-twentieth-century history, after which point advances in ethnomusicological techniques could confirm the 'sonic multiplicity' of Jewish musical cultures in order to 'challeng[e] any monolithic notion of *a* diaspora'.[4] However, even within a newly fragmented framework of European Jewry, Anglo-Jewish music is still often treated in one of two ways. The first is through absence – which sometimes leads to an assumed adherence to the larger model. Philip Bohlman states that Jewish modernism – which he identifies in terms of 'Jewish Music' as commencing in 1880 – was '[b]orn of emancipation and spurred on by assimilation'.[5] The British narrative is absent from Bohlman's collection of essays, despite these two elements being fundamental to nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish history. In light of Britain's exclusion from all Bohlman's works on the topic of Jewish modernism, this inspires the question of whether or not Anglo-Jewish topics should indeed be considered within this framework. By way of an answer, Tina Frühauf provides a more helpful, albeit brief, response. In contrast with the close elision between German Reform and musical practice, Frühauf states that synagogue music reform 'made very little headway' in England, thus allowing for its absence within her discussion.[6] In light of my research, I would certainly agree; as many Anglo-Jewish historians have indicated, the 'Reform' community in England represented a very

[2] For writing on British reform which mentions music, see Anne J. Kershen and Jonathan A. Romain, *Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism in Britain, 1840-1995* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1995); Michael Leigh, 'Reform Judaism in Britain (1840-1970)', in *Reform Judaism: Essays on Reform Judaism in Britain, dedicated to Rabbi Werner van Der Zyl*, ed. Dow Marmur (Oxford: Alden Press, 1973), 2-50; Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 171-180; Stephen Sharot, 'Reform and Liberal Judaism in London: 1840-1940', *Jewish Social Studies* 41/3-4 (1979): 211-228. Each author takes a different approach towards the use of music in British synagogues and their connections to German musical practice, although none discusses it in depth. As this chapter indicates, where 'Reform music' or 'nineteenth-century Jewish music' is discussed in finer detail, this is almost always in relation to Germany and Central Europe. Two exceptions are Walter Hillsman, 'Organs and Organ Music in Victorian Synagogues: Christian Intrusions or Symbols of Cultural Assimilation?', *Studies in Church History* 29 (1992): 419-433, and Daniel Tunkel, 'Notes on the History and Origins of the Music of the Anglo-Jewish Synagogue Tradition', *Journal of Synagogue Music* 33 (2008): 197-208, although the latter barely mentions the Reform Movement at all (and incorrectly gives Verrinder's first name as 'Claude').

[3] Edwin Seroussi, 'Jewish Music and Diaspora', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 30.

[4] Seroussi, 'Jewish Music and Diaspora', 27.

[5] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Introduction: Jewish Modernism's Transcendent Moment', in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Bohlman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 2. Bohlman's reasoning behind this date is that this is 'when the diverse expressive practices of sacred and secular Jewish society were called "Jewish music"'.

[6] Tina Frühauf, 'The reform of synagogue music in the nineteenth century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 188.

small contingent of the wider Jewish community. Furthermore, the reforms themselves were largely mild aesthetic or structural changes that had little to do with religious law. However, this 'acknowledge and omit' approach has led me to wonder whether 'Reform' is the best expression to use within the Anglo-Jewish musical context. In Anglo-Jewish scholarship, music is neither intrinsic to the Reform debate nor – as far as music is considered at all – apparently separable from it. Perhaps, therefore, Jewish musical developments in Victorian Britain require inspection from a different and more local musicological angle.

This chapter initially comprises two 'long shots', the first of which covers over two millennia of Jewish music, the second a more recent European Jewish history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, based on the 'Enlightenment, Emancipation, Reform' narrative. The vastness of both topics permits only a brief overview here, in which I outline the arguments I have found most interesting and persuasive with regards to determining what Victorian Anglo-Jewish music was and was *not* in light of its extensive history. The second half of the chapter commences my equivalent of Slobin's 'zooming in', focussing particularly on the primary sources I have found which provide clear evidence for musical decisions undertaken by the Anglo-Jewish community.

Using Charles Verrinder as a case study clearly requires a focus on Britain's first Reform Synagogue. However, drawing comparisons between him and his colleagues in both sacred (Jewish and Christian) and secular musical spheres has confirmed to me Verrinder's role at the West London Synagogue not as an imperative contribution to Anglo-Jewish Reform, but as part of a process which enabled a number of widespread musical changes for British Jews in synagogue, domestic and social circles. I will also introduce a discussion regarding similarities between the West London Synagogue and the Oxford Movement, which I believe contributes a more insightful understanding of the specific musical influences identifiable in British synagogues than a comparison with European religious, political, and musical history.

Jewish musical practice 'in the light of new conditions'

A fact sometimes ignored by critics of religious reform has been reiterated succinctly (albeit with a bias in favour of the British Reform Movement) by the late Rabbi Dr Michael Leigh, who wrote that the principal of reform 'has always existed in Judaism'.[7] In his argument, he referred to biblical examples of the – sometimes forceful – introduction of change to theological ideologies and practice, such as

[7] Leigh, 'Reform Judaism in Britain', 2. During his career Michael Leigh was Assistant Rabbi at the West London Synagogue and Senior Rabbi at Edgware and District Reform Synagogue, two of the most influential Reform institutions in Britain. He was one of the first two students (the other being Lionel Blue) at the Leo Baeck College, the UK's training college for Progressive Judaism, then working out of the West London Synagogue. The College's first principal was Rabbi Werner van Der Zyl. See 'Our History', Leo Baeck College (accessed 2 October 2019) https://lbc.ac.uk/about-us/our-history/.

Abraham's declaration of monotheism by smashing statues of idols and Moses proclaiming 'the basic demands of morality' through his receiving of the Ten Commandments for the Jewish people at Sinai. Perhaps his most apt comment for the current discussion, however, is the idea that Judaism has been continuously re-examined 'in the light of new conditions'.[8] This notion is one which the nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish Reformers often used to explain changes to practice, referring to the natural development of worship as Jews adjusted to new geographical locations, local customs and different levels of religious and social tolerance. It is also one which has developed in Jewish music scholarship in recent decades. Bohlman's 'ontological moments', the materialisation of music through which '[t]he old and the new converge…shaping the ways in which Jewish history itself unfolds', go some way to unravelling the notion that Jewish music should be somehow pure and untainted by external influences.[9] Similarly, Seroussi has noted that the understood history of a persecuted, segregated and silenced diasporic Jewish community is less clear cut than once assumed, with 'perceptions of Jewish musical exceptionality' being undermined by sources as far back as the twelfth century identifying instances of Jews and Christians sharing musical material.[10] In fact, interactions with non-Jewish cultures (which Seroussi indicates extend as far back as the destruction of the first Temple in the sixth century BCE, contradicting common theories of a Diaspora which commenced in 70 CE) are an intrinsic and inseparable element of Jewish music.[11]

References to all types of instruments – from trumpets and cymbals to lyres, harps and even a piped instrument considered to be a primitive predecessor to the organ – appear in biblical and rabbinic accounts of worship in the second Temple.[12] Along with contributions of both male and female singers in their hundreds, this has been interpreted as representative of the celebratory, joyful nature of Temple worship. Synagogue worship did begin to take shape towards the end of this period; however, it developed most fully between 70 CE and the tenth century, with liturgy replacing the celebrations and sacrifices of the Temple. Diaspora communities relied heavily on rabbinic guidance and instruction (originally the Oral Law, ultimately compiled in the Talmud in around 500 CE) as they became increasingly removed from Temple worship. According to Talmudic law, the destruction left the Jewish people in a state of mourning, which inspired an extended period during which music outside of worship was considered disrespectful. Moreover, instrumental music and dancing were removed from worship,

[8] Leigh, 'Reform Judaism in Britain', 2.

[9] Philip V. Bohlman, 'Ontologies of Jewish Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 13-14.

[10] Seroussi, 'Jewish Music and Diaspora', 31-32.

[11] Seroussi, 'Jewish Music and Diaspora', 28. Seroussi refers to the destruction of the second Temple in 70 CE as 'only a crucial point in a long history of Israelite dispersion, not its "official" beginning'.

[12] See Mark Kligman, 'Jewish Liturgical Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 84-103, for a recent and thorough overview of sources which indicate modes of musical worship across Jewish history.

both as a sign of respect and because the use of instruments for a weekly Sabbath service (rather than daily Temple worship) raised concerns about needing to fix or tune the instruments on the Day of Rest.

Sung text, however, remained a key part of worship, particularly for sections of the service of special importance. Mark Kligman refers to three types of liturgical music: cantillation assigned to the words of the *Torah* (Pentateuch) and used in biblical recitations; *nusach*, or prayer modes used to provide melodic settings for psalms and other liturgical texts; and liturgical chant, through which the function of the *chazan* (often translated as 'cantor', but originally relating to the 'overseer' of a congregation) was developed and defined, with increasingly musical associations.[13] Each of these types of singing developed in conjunction with synagogue liturgy over the first millennium CE, with the earliest discovered notations originating around the tenth century. *Piyyutim*, or poems, were added from the Talmudic era and were later set to a combination of specially composed and borrowed folk melodies. The role of the *chazan* became to guide their congregations through the literal and emotional meaning of the text. The *chazan* would intone prayers using the *nusach* appropriate for the season or service and included more melodic settings of *piyyutim*. Kligman notes that differing opinions regarding the aesthetic qualities of music in the synagogue can be identified as early as the seventeenth century, with various musicians, *chazanim* and rabbis disagreeing on the borrowing of non-Jewish musical styles and melodies for worship purposes.[14] By the eighteenth century, the *chazan*'s skill required intense training and had developed into an art form, with *chazanim* becoming renowned for their ability to invoke the meaning of the text in such a way as to inspire devotion in their congregation. In Britain, the German-born Myer Leon (known as 'Leoni') achieved almost celebrity status for his role as *chazan* of the Great Synagogue from the mid- to the late-eighteenth century, through which he was also invited to take on operatic roles on the London stage (which conversely affected his ability to sing in the Synagogue on the Sabbath).

The *chazan* was at times a controversial figure, with criticisms arising as early as the middle ages regarding the abuse of the role to prioritise vocal prowess and personal musical taste over intoning and inflecting the liturgical text. Taking advantage of the requirement to portray the emotional as well as literal meaning of the prayers, many *chazanim* would improvise extensive vocalises within the text, which considerably lengthened the services and undermined the clarity of the liturgy. Regarding the *piyyutim*, some congregations found the folk and secular melodies often imposed on the text morally challenging given their (sometimes questionable) origins. David Conway quotes an individual writing in 1733, who explained the problems with synagogue decorum which began to develop out of a lack of understanding by, and respect for, the congregation:

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[13] Kligman, 'Jewish Liturgical Music', 88-92. For a history of *chazanim* and *chazanut* (the repertoire of a *chazan*), see Cyrus Adler et al., 'Hazzan', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 2 October 2019) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7426-hazzan.

[14] Kligman, 'Jewish Liturgical Music', 92-93.

> The custom of the *chazanim* in our generation is to invent tunes, and transfer tunes from the secular to the sacred…(they) run through the main prayers with such rapidity that even the swiftest horse could not follow them; while on the *Kaddish* or Psalm tunes they spend so much effort and time that the angered congregants begin to converse.[15]

Conway also cites Charles Burney's well-known commentary on the Jewish worship he experienced in a German synagogue in Amsterdam in 1772:

> At my first entrance, one of the priests was chanting part of the service in a kind of ancient canto fermo, and responses were made by the congregation, in a manner which resembled the hum of bees. After this three of the sweet singers of Israel began singing a kind of jolly modern melody, sometimes in unison and sometimes in parts, to a kind of tol de rol, instead of words, which to me, seemed very farcical…At the end of each strain, the whole congregation set up such a kind of cry, as a pack of hounds when a fox breaks cover…It is impossible for me to divine what idea the Jews themselves annex to this vociferation.[16]

The style of singing portrayed in Burney's account – described in such a way as to incite ridicule – would have also been heard in British synagogues of the same period, albeit with discrepancies in the exact form. The reference to 'the sweet singers of Israel', which Conway suggests was used sarcastically, nonetheless depicts the trio of *chazan* and two *meshorerim* – a treble or tenor and bass singer (usually apprentices to the *chazan*) who accompanied the *chazan* with improvised harmonies. Julius Mombach, who in 1841 became the first choirmaster at the Great Synagogue, initially came to London from Germany as a *meshorer*, while a collection of melodies heard in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue published in 1857 (which I shall examine in Chapter Three) include a number of pieces for three 'soloists', indicating perhaps at attempts to create a similar practice in the Sephardi tradition at Bevis Marks (although I have not found evidence that this was the case, either in London or other Sephardi communities). While a precursor to the use of choral harmony starting in the mid-nineteenth century, this style of harmonisation and cantorial chant did less to include and inspire Jewish congregants and more to incite critical remarks from both within and outside of the synagogue.

It is clear from Burney's commentary that Jewish life in the Middle Ages and early modern period was not entirely insular, as many sources would imply. Non-Jewish visitors to synagogue

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[15] David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 20.

[16] Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands, Volume 2*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 229. Quoted in David Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 21.

services were apparently common – there is evidence in Samuel Pepys' diary that he attended services at Bevis Marks on at least one occasion during the seventeenth century.[17] However, the similarity of Pepys' and Burney's comments (highlighted by Conway) in fact help to indicate how an image of the Jews' social 'Otherness', juxtaposed with a communal 'homogeneity', permeated Europe. Burney's detailed focus on the musical elements of the service highlights three important aspects of music's role in a community: first, that music was considered a vital part of worship, in both Christianity and Judaism; second, that music had the power to repel those unfamiliar with the style being deployed (or was used to indicate levels of otherness); and third, that it was a strong indicator of collective identity. His remarks make it clear that the alien nature of Jewish music, as he experienced it, was both culturally and religiously anathema to Christian society, and his account distances all 'the Jews' from the rest of religious society through his incredulity that they can find devotional inspiration in this form of musical worship. Furthermore, the widespread impact of the Enlightenment's focus on 'the self' and its many components meant that such comments were no longer contained within the synagogue context. For Jews, like all those of faith, the Enlightenment encouraged a greater reflection on how their religious and non-religious lives intertwined. But how relevant was this enlightenment to an already assimilated Jewish community in Britain? And how did this dictate the direction of Anglo-Jewish music?

Reason, Romanticism, Reform

There are many reasons why the 'Enlightenment, Emancipation, Reform' trope challenges more specific details of the Anglo-Jewish reform narrative. However, it is one which is difficult to escape in Anglo-Jewish scholarship, due in part to impulses to compare Jewish history in Britain with that across Europe (in a striking imbalance with European accounts which ignore British events). Originating in France in the lead up to the 1789 Revolution, Enlightened thought united with increased intellectualism across Europe (specifically Germany) brought a new challenge of perception to Europe's Jewish communities. Michael Clark and Todd M. Endelman both refer to the idea that under new considerations, 'Jewishness became only a part of Jews' sense of self'.[18] As ghetto walls broke down and Jews began, to a greater or lesser degree, to become assimilated as 'individuals', they also became '"intimately alive" to others' opinions of them and, therefore, sensitive to their criticism'.[19]

Clark argues that the Enlightenment was central to the drive towards emancipation, even in Britain, which in turn inspired a series of self-reflective considerations regarding individual and

[17] David Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 64. Conway indicates that Pepys attended a *Simchat Torah* service in 1663, and his observations are 'very close […] in tone' to those of Burney a century later. However, Conway suggests that Pepys was 'evidently unaware that the high jinks of this festival day are out of the ordinary'.

[18] Michael Clark, *Albion and Jerusalem: The Anglo-Jewish Community in the Post-Emancipation Era, 1858-1887* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.

[19] Clark, *Albion and Jerusalem*, 4.

collective social, cultural, and religious practice. I would argue that such considerations were already ongoing, but that emancipation reinforced the desire for changes which were advantageous to the Anglo-Jewish community's social position. There was no 'ghetto' in Britain, nor were the majority of Jews entirely isolated from British society; to that end, assimilated British Jews had a head start on many of their European counterparts, with self-reflection on their religious practice being an intrinsic part of their daily life since their early resettlement in Britain in 1656.[20] As such, Burney's status as a well-known musician and travel writer would have given his comments weight within both the Christian and Anglo-Jewish communities well before the end of the eighteenth century. This position lay in stark contrast to other areas around Europe. Within the French context, for example, it is hard to unravel the links between Enlightenment theories and Jewish political equality. The Franco-Jewish community became emancipated effectively overnight, forced into an existence in which a religious collective, with its own customs and laws, was not compatible with the individuality promoted by Enlightenment thought. Clark mentions the Count de Clermont-Tonnerre's December 1789 declaration which stated that '[t]he Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals'.[21]

In other countries, full emancipation remained difficult to achieve even where it was desired. This has been a significant aspect of the German Reform narrative. Concerning the frequent comparison between German and British emancipation and their respective religious reforms, Kershen and Romain state that 'political pressure and limitation' were the catalysts behind the question of what Judaism meant, and how it should be represented, for the German-Jewish community, while they confer that 'Jewishness' in England adapted slowly due to the community's changing financial, political and social circumstances.[22] Upper- and middle-class British Jews already considered themselves loyal to their nation – they contributed to it financially and professionally, and shared cultural experiences with wider Victorian society. In the most part, they lived no differently to their Anglican contemporaries of similarly affluent means. Their main task during the 1830s to 1850s, according to those for whom political equality to the fullest extent had an impact, was to convince these contemporaries that their contribution should be accepted as an indication of their loyalty to Britain, and thus their ability to hold positions of authority. It was particularly national allegiance that was under suspicion, and it took over thirty years (until 1858) for full political emancipation for the Jews of Britain to be achieved.[23] The

[20] Endelman comments on the lack of significant Jewish authority to oversee Anglo-Jewish practice from the early decades of the resettlement which allowed for greater integration between the Jewish and Christian communities in their daily lives. Furthermore, many of the earliest Sephardi Jews in England had been living as *conversos*, converted Catholics, prior to their arrival; their experience of non-Jewish life allowed them quickly to adopt English social and cultural practices. See Endelman, *The Jews of Britain: 1656-2000* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), 15-40.

[21] Clark, *Albion and Jerusalem*, 48.

[22] Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 26.

[23] Detailed histories of the Jewish political emancipation period in Britain were written across the twentieth century. Cecil Roth's chapter on the subject in *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949)

hurtful realisation that assimilated, enculturated British Jews were, below the surface, still considered 'Other', untrustworthy and – fundamentally – at odds with the Church and State which governed British politics, was the impetus not for the rethinking of Jewish religious and cultural practice (which had already begun), but for the outward demonstration of increased 'Britishness' for the benefit of non-Jewish citizens. A religious 'trigger' – the inclusion of an oath 'on the true faith of a Christian' which provided a hurdle to positions of responsibility – revealed to British Jews the extent to which Victorian society remained reluctant for them to consider England their permanent, uncomplicated home.

Endelman has written multiple accounts regarding the differing circumstances and events dictating the path of British emancipation and reform in contrast with European (principally German) equivalents, particularly in terms of Jewish political and social status and philosophical approach.[24] The latter is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the narrative, driven by ongoing discussions of the impact of the *Haskalah*. German-Jewish thought was heavily influenced by the *Haskalah*, an intellectual movement led by a body of philosophers and teachers, known as *maskilim*, who directed developments in Jewish practice and social interaction with wider society. The most prominent of these *maskilim*, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86) – whose work included a German translation of and Hebrew commentary on the Pentateuch – is often cited as a key advocate of emancipation; however, Olga Litvak claims that this is misleading due to a frequent misinterpretation of *Haskalah* as a 'Jewish Enlightenment'.[25] Both Endelman and Litvak are particularly strong opposers of the links between Enlightenment and the *Haskalah*, the latter seeking to correct the widely-understood definition of the *Haskalah* to reflect its Hebrew roots in the word *sekhel*, meaning 'intellect', which Litvak separates from the concept of 'reason' which underlies Enlightenment thought.[26] Litvak's overall thesis, as implied in the title of her monograph, is that the *Haskalah* was not a 'rational', but a 'romantic'

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is well-known for its early-twentieth-century bias towards a noble history which focuses on the 'Englishness' of British Jews at the expense of other less assimilated Jewish communities. Roth nonetheless gives a thorough account of the transition from political disabilities for all 'Non-Conformists' to those specifically targeted to Jews, and the response of high-powered families such as the Goldsmids in campaigning repeatedly for barriers to be removed from political and authoritative positions. Other overviews of the period from a social history perspective include Israel Finestein's *Jewish Society in Victorian England* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993), which emphasises the small section of the Jewish community for whom political emancipation was meaningful; and Endelman's 'Communal Solidarity among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London', *Victorian Studies* 28/3 (1985): 491-526, which demonstrates the insular nature of the Jewish elite and its hold on the organisational running of Anglo-Jewish life.

[24] See Endelman, 'Poverty to Prosperity', in *The Jews of Britain*; *Broadening Jewish History: Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011), 65-81.

[25] Mendelssohn (grandfather of Felix) composed his High German translation of the Pentateuch in Hebrew script, in order to make the German language accessible to Yiddish speakers. For recent work on Mendelssohn's extensive work on Jewish texts and philosophy, see Elias Sacks, *Moses Mendelssohn's Living Script: Philosophy, Practice, History, Judaism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2017).

[26] Olga Litvak, *Haskalah: The Romantic Movement in Judaism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 3.

movement; as such, previous accounts which acknowledge the *maskilim* as promoters of emancipation and nationalism have misjudged their principal ideals. Mendelssohn's instruction to German Jews was to '[a]dapt yourselves to the customs and constitution of the land in which you live yet, at the same time, adhere firmly to the religion of your ancestors'.[27] Under Litvak's reasoning, Mendelssohn's statement was not only concerned with political equality, but also the education of the German-Jewish community. In Mendelssohn's opinion, knowledge of the German language (rather than solely conversing in Yiddish) was crucial to understanding eighteenth-century philosophical thought. Litvak's argument helps to break down connections between the move towards Jewish reform in Germany and the same in Britain. Endelman's theories of a lack of intellectualism in Anglo-Jewry also contributes to this argument.[28] However, David B. Ruderman not only negates Endelman's claims, but also offers a discussion of 'a dozen or so hitherto neglected Jewish thinkers' residing in England during the Enlightenment period whose work demonstrates that Jews in Britain contributed to the intellectual life of Europe.[29] As such, Ruderman's work both elides with that of other Jewish historians, in that he detaches the Anglo-Jewish narrative from both Enlightenment and German-Jewish intellectual thought, and also introduces a new approach which considers Anglo-Jewish society as one which incorporated 'substantial Jewish thinkers who attempted to reformulate their own religious identity in the light of their exposure to modern English culture'.[30]

Interestingly, both Ruderman and Litvak ground much of the established history of Anglo-Jewish reform and social integration in a form of 'pre-1740 Sephardic-Jewish Enlightenment', which travelled to London with the migration of Jews from the Iberian Diaspora.[31] Taking Endelman's narrative of the *conversos* a step further, Litvak describes the religious doubt experienced by Jews forced to convert to Catholicism, looking to philosophy and rationalism to find meaning in their double-life.[32] On their migration to England, these same communities were required to self-govern, creating codes of conduct based on theories of reason and identity which united their new place on the outskirts of society with the 'pride in the distinctions of wealth and lineage' they had acquired through relative assimilation as Iberian *conversos*. Litvak's research also indicates a shift from an engagement with 'Enlightenment science and biblical criticism' at the turn of the seventeenth century towards a lack of

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[27] Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 6; originally in W. Gunther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of its European Origins* (New York: World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1963), 7.

[28] Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 264-266.

[29] David B. Ruderman, 'Introduction', in *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key*, ed. Ruderman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3.

[30] Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment*, 3.

[31] Olga Litvak, *Haskalah*, quoting Jonathan Israel's expression, 11.

[32] Endelman does refer to the mixed responses of Jews, *conversos* and 'New Christians' in light of establishing a Jewish place of worship and religious guidelines. In particular, he describes the often turbulent relationship between the *Hacham* (Sephardi religious leader) and the Jewish community; the role of *Hacham* was filled, and left empty, by a number of imported Sephardi scholars and teachers across the earliest years of the resettlement. See *The Jews of Britain*, 31-35.

intellectualism a century later, as noted by Endelman.[33] While this may indeed be the case, it is interesting to note that the main advocates for Anglo-Jewish political and religious reform – largely wealthy Sephardim – descended from those also questioning religious authority and notions of identity. Laura Almagor's review of Litvak's monograph neatly summarises – and perhaps puts to rest – the well-told narrative of the external influences on Anglo-Jewish reform: 'Litvak claims that, indeed, there may have been an early-modern Jewish Enlightenment, shaped by Sephardic Jewry in Western Europe, but that the *Haskalah* was simply something else'.[34]

As shown through Mendelssohn's plea to German Jews to enculturate themselves through knowledge of German language and thought, attempts for emancipation and assimilation in Germany were driven by an aspiration as yet unacquired. By contrast, the majority of British Jews – particularly those whose families had lived in the country for a number of generations – were already fully integrated into English society. Endelman's approach to British reforms does not exclusively attribute them to the campaign for emancipation in Britain, although it is true that there was significant overlap. In line with Endelman's argument, I would agree that while European philosophy, and news regarding religious developments in Germany and France, would have crossed the Channel into Britain and even caused the Anglo-Jewish community to question their own place within society, it was a specifically 'British' thought process which lay at the heart of developments to worship practice in British synagogues. At a time during which 'British' identity was defined through social and cultural standing, which found its way into both secular and sacred music-making, it is again no surprise that some British Jews chose to unite their religious practices with their English lifestyle through a re-examination of how music could be used in the synagogue to enrich their devotion and appeal to the outside world. Already enculturated, the soundscape they sought to use was one with which they were already familiar, as concert-goers, domestic music-makers and even attendees of church services. As I will discuss in more detail shortly, the British desire was to produce a service which demonstrated an identity they already felt was theirs, not one which required careful design.

Musical 'Reform': Emancipation or Acculturation?

This striking difference between forced and what I would call a desire for 'improved' assimilation is best observed in the musical practices of German and British early Reform worship. While some of the more aesthetic amendments to practice were similar, such as the use of choral (and later organ) music

[33] Litvak herself refers to David Ruderman's work, which claims that the Anglo-Jewish Enlightenment 'had its origins in the Sephardic ambience of early modern London', and which for Ruderman stemmed from 'Sephardic luminaries' like David Nieto, Rabbi of Bevis Marks 'in the beginning of the eighteenth century'. See Litvak, *Haskalah*, 11-12.

[34] Laura Almagor, 'Haskalah: The Romantic Movement in Judaism', *European Review of History* 23/1-2 (2015): 225.

and the introduction of passages in the vernacular, the earliest attempts at reform in Germany were criticised by conservative German Jews for their radical approach to liturgy. Furthermore, it is easier to see the connection between French political ideals and German Reform, given that the location for Israel Jacobson's early 'Temple' in Seesen – considered the first Reform institution in Europe, founded in 1810 – was made possible through the emancipation of the Jewish community of Westphalia under Napoleonic rule. Under this regime, Jacobson was able to construct a form of worship which incorporated Jewish and Christian texts and German hymns (with organ accompaniment), and encouraged Christian attendance.[35] This and Jacobson's 1813 Berlin Temple received significant opposition, inciting government action which led to the latter's closure. In contrast with the use of music in the West London Synagogue, Jacobson's approach of bringing German church music and liturgy into synagogue services wholesale was a risky attempt to demonstrate assimilation between members of the two faiths. Furthermore, both of Jacobson's temples were private institutions, run as part of an educational programme for Jewish children from poor families. This allowed for an engagement with the younger generations, who thus absorbed aspects of German identity through their schooling; older generations were reluctant to abandon their 'long-established traditions' in favour of these newer practices.[36]

Of the early German Reform congregations, the most successful was established in Hamburg in 1817, where choral singing accompanied by the organ was heard for the first time in a public synagogue, to 'fierce controversy'. In addition, a 'completely new order' was established for the service, including a newly-introduced sermon in the vernacular.[37] Later discussions of religious change in Britain refer to the Hamburg synagogue, suggesting that the West London Synagogue gained inspiration from the German institution; however, this was unlikely to extend beyond superficial worship preferences.[38] From a musical perspective, the West London Synagogue had more in common with the Berlin Neue Synagoge, inaugurated in 1866 with Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894), considered one of the leading composers of synagogue music, in the position of musical director. It was at this synagogue that Lewandowski composed the majority of his (now well-known) repertoire for choir, cantor, and organ. Lewandowski himself was following in the shadow of Austrian *chazan* and composer Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890), whose work for cantor and choir satisfied the needs of the wider central European Jewish community for a musical worship which 'enobl[ed] synagogal song'.[39] Sulzer's goal, as indicated in his first published collection of synagogue music, *Schir Zion* Volume I (compiled in 1838

[35] Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 24.

[36] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 27.

[37] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 29.

[38] Francis Goldsmid was one of many who made reference to the Hamburg Synagogue in early campaigns for reform in Britain. See Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 10-11.

[39] Abraham Lubin, 'Salomon Sulzer's Schir Zion, Volume One: A Survey of its Contributors and its Contents', *Musica Judaica* 8/1 (1985-86): 24.

and first printed in 1840), was in part possible through his involvement and collaboration with a number of non-Jewish composers, including Franz Schubert (who himself composed a setting of Psalm 92 for the collection). These interactions with wider musical society were key to Sulzer's success in 'elevat[ing] the music of the synagogue to an "art"', drawing together elements of ancient Jewish practice – through the adaptation of old 'national' melodies – with a new sound which truly reflected the musical culture of nineteenth-century Austria and Germany.[40] Tina Frühauf describes clearly how he achieved his goal as the 'musical architect' of the new synagogue soundscape:

> There was hardly any available liturgical repertoire that would have fit the new aesthetic and liturgical ideals. There was no immediate example on which to model his arrangements […] Thus Sulzer had to create a suitable repertoire. He began by selecting traditional melodies […] and reinterpreted them by renouncing the coloraturas of the cantorial solo, and the imitation, absorption, or parody of late Baroque instrumental and operatic music, or dance melodies […] He adapted these melodies for solo and chorus in accordance with the harmonic rules of his time – later his application of major and minor tonality to melodies in original Jewish modes was heavily criticized.[41]

Lewandowski took inspiration from the eastern European musical traditions of Berlin's Old Synagogue for his compositions, introduced when 'Sulzer's style no longer fit the ideals of the Berlin community'.[42] Tailoring his writing towards small as well as large congregations, his first publication, *Kol Rinnah u-T'fillah* (1871), was simple, the choral arrangements being in two parts each with a small vocal range. His later publication, *Toda W'simrah* (1876/82) was set 'for four-part mixed choir, solo cantor, and organ ad libitum'.[43] While it is not clear whether either Lewandowski or Sulzer had a direct impact on Verrinder's own writing and arranging of Jewish repertoire, several pieces of Sulzer's feature in Verrinder's second volume of music for the West London Synagogue, suggesting that he had access to a copy of *Schir Zion*.[44] Furthermore, there is a clear mirroring of intercultural practice resultant from significant interactions between Jewish and non-Jewish circles.[45] As I shall explore in Chapters Two and Three, the musical foundations for Verrinder's earliest work at the Synagogue were based on similar

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[40] Abraham Lubin, 'Salomon Sulzer's *Schir Zion*', 27.

[41] Frühauf, 'The reform of synagogue music in the nineteenth century', 190. See also Frühauf, *Salomon Sulzer: Reformer, Cantor, Icon* (Berlin: Hentrich and Hentrich, 2012).

[42] Frühauf, 'The reform of synagogue music in the nineteenth century', 197.

[43] Frühauf, 'The reform of synagogue music in the nineteenth century', 197.

[44] While written too late perhaps to have had an influence on Verrinder's writing for the Synagogue, Lewandowski's success and renown may well have inspired some of his later settings of Jewish texts which were made available to the wider public, which I shall explore in Chapter Four.

[45] These include settings of *Adon Olam*, *En Kelohenu* and *Mi Addir*.

practices, without the use of a solo voice but with organ accompaniment. In fact, given publication dates, it would make more sense (though this is nevertheless unlikely) for Verrinder's style of organ arrangement to have inspired Lewandowski's settings.

Endelman comments that 'unlike their counterparts in Berlin, London Jews did not feel that their religion itself was on trial or that they had to prove their own loyalty to the state by abandoning their ethnic solidarity.'[46] As such, the West London Synagogue's aim was to encourage a Jewish interpretation of a British soundscape. Verrinder's contribution took this one step further, urging Christian and secular audiences to question not only whether Anglo-Jewish music was compatible with their understanding of musical practice, but also if they could consider it an additional source of repertoire for performance in sacred and secular environments. One key similarity is that in neither Germany nor Britain were the new synagogues intended as a form of new religious movement. Frühauf, in fact, describes the German institutions not as 'Reform', but states that they were designed to engage a community desirous of emancipation – deliberately unifying the religious with the political issue.[47] She also makes the striking comment that they were not intended to be 'revolutionary'; the 'fathers of Reform' saw the changes they were making as necessary amendments in order to draw in modern Jews who had been dissuaded from current worship practice.[48] This is one area which resonates with scholars of British Reform; in her thorough (yet occasionally inaccurate) history of the West London Synagogue, Philippa Bernard writes that '[t]he new congregation obeyed almost all the Jewish laws as far as their behaviour outside the synagogue was concerned. They were, after all, orthodox Jews, always walking to the services on the Sabbath, and keeping strictly to the dietary laws.'[49] Endelman's approach to observance among the Jewish elite (within both the West London Synagogue and other, more orthodox institutions) is less convinced, stating:

> The nature of the Jewish elite's attachment to Judaism and the Jewish community was complex. Most were not orthodox Jews by the standards of Central and Eastern European orthodoxy at the time or the standards of British orthodoxy today, but they were respectful of religious tradition and far more observant than wealthy Jews elsewhere in Europe and America. They were not in any sense Jews in name only, nor was their Jewish identity merely a lingering ethnic allegiance. They observed the major Jewish

[46] Endelman, 'Communal Solidarity', 502.

[47] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 27.

[48] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 27-28.

[49] Philippa Bernard, *A Beacon of Light: The History of the West London Synagogue* (London: The West London Synagogue, 2013), 12. Aside from her comment that the organ installed in the West London Synagogue in 1859 was the first in Britain (see Introduction and Chapter Two), another example of Bernard's small errors is the claim that Verrinder received his doctorate from Cambridge (his BA was from Oxford and his doctorate was a Lambeth Degree).

> holidays, kept the Sabbath, and adhered to the dietary laws, although their manner of doing so was not always in agreement with Jewish law and was considerably influenced by contemporary Christian practice.[50]

Frühauf's work therefore shows how the organ and its status as 'a symbol of the division between Orthodox and Reform' related less to its position as part of a deliberate and rebellious statement made by progressive communities, but more to the organ's reception by those who saw reform as a threat to traditional practice. As a result, its inclusion in the earliest Reformed services in Germany is one of the striking differences between German and early English Reform, particularly with regards to this reception. Frühauf even refers to the '"emancipation of the organ" in the synagogue', attributing to it a significance with regards to its acceptability in Jewish worship which mirrored the concurrent political status of German Jews.[51] Both Lewandowski and Sulzer (in his later years) promoted the use of the organ in synagogue worship on the grounds that it gave services a gravitas unachievable by any other instrument or vocal ensemble. The instrument's merits, suitability on religious grounds and even the religious identity of the organist were all discussed in detailed conferences of German rabbis throughout the mid-nineteenth century. This was a quite different approach to the addition of the organ at the West London Synagogue which, as a result of its tempestuous beginnings, was not under the auspices of a collective rabbinical authority.

The West London Synagogue of British Jews

The turning point for Jewish reform in Britain, as it is documented in Anglo-Jewish histories, was 15 April 1840, when a committee of twenty-four men met to establish the principal of a new synagogue in the West End of London. Comprised of eighteen members of the Spanish and Portuguese (Sephardi) Congregation and six members of the Ashkenazi Great Synagogue, it was decided that this new community would be named the 'West London Synagogue of British Jews' on the basis not only of its location, but of its congregants, whose denominational differences were now overshadowed by their shared allegiance to a national identity.[52] The move to a West London location – initially a converted chapel in Burton Street – reflected the geographical disparity between the East End synagogues, in Bevis Marks and Duke's Place respectively, and the most affluent of their congregants who now resided

[50] Endelman, 'Communal Solidary', 497-498.

[51] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 28.

[52] The Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation – initially situated on Creechurch Lane – was established in 1657, a year after the readmission of Jews to England. The synagogue catered for seven Sephardi Jews, six of whom had been living in London secretly as Catholics. By 1680 four hundred individuals were recorded in the congregation, and a new building was erected in Bevis Marks in 1701, which is still used today. The Great Synagogue was founded for the later-arriving Ashkenazi community at the end of the seventeenth century, at Duke's Place near Aldgate. See Introduction, Figure 2, for a map locating these two synagogues.

in more salubrious areas of London, which formed the centre of their professional and social lives. As such, they desired a synagogue closer to their homes in order that they could attend services more readily. Using modes of transport was prohibited on the Sabbath due to laws which dictated forbidden types of 'work'; by placing a synagogue within walking distance, attendance – like that of the Anglican Church – could become an integral part of local (and visible) daily life. Endelman states that Jews who wished to demonstrate an allegiance to British values placed a social emphasis on worship attendance:

> Well-to-do Jews, as members of a minority group eager to secure social acceptance, took their cues from respectable society, especially Anglican upper-middle-class society, and, just as they adopted the fashions of those circles in matters of costume, entertainment, display and decoration, and recreation and leisure, so too they conformed in the area of religion. Religious observance being a necessary part of respectability, they adhered to the established conventions of the faith in which they had been raised.[53]

The desire for a new synagogue emanated from demands for aesthetic and social changes to Anglo-Jewish worship, rather than amendments to the Jewish liturgy. These changes had initially been requested at the two established synagogues, and some consideration had been taken to restore order, decorum, and devotion to services. Describing the movements towards reform prior to the foundation of the West London Synagogue, Bernard highlights the discontent apparent even from the late eighteenth century, when an 'anonymous writer, probably Jewish' published a 1780 book *A Peep into the Synagogue*. The writer condemned the Bevis Marks congregation for their lack of knowledge of the Hebrew language which led to them discussing 'the fluctuation of the markets and the advancement or fall of stocks, and other matters that interested them' rather than focusing on worship.[54] He also criticised the 'ignorant, illiterate, avaricious' ministers, suggesting that a decent education was required, and showed disgust that the Sanctuary had become a 'sales room' where blessings (*mitzvot*) – such as the honour of opening the Ark, where the *Torah* scrolls were kept – were auctioned during the service. Most of these concerns were still held nearly fifty years later. By this point, there were several language barriers which affected not just worship, but the day-to-day running of the Synagogue. It had already been decided that minutes of committee meetings should be in the vernacular, not Portuguese, and in 1828 – following the first English sermon heard in Liverpool in 1819 – it was agreed by a committee at Bevis Marks that sermons would also be in English. Despite a majority vote on this matter, the 'confirmation vote' rejected the motion by a small margin of sixteen to thirteen.[55] However, the level

[53] Endelman, 'Communal Solidarity', 504.

[54] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 3.

[55] Bruce Mitchell, 'Language usage in Anglo-Sephardi Jewry: An Historical Overview of Spanish, Portuguese and Judeo-Spanish in England from the Expulsion to the Present Day', *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 33/1 (2000): 101.

of recent dissatisfaction with the services at Bevis Marks led to the establishment in 1838 of a committee 'for promoting Order and Solemnity in the Synagogue'.[56] Among the requests made were the introduction of a choir, a further appeal for sermons in English, and the prohibition of the purchase of *mitzvot*.[57] While the latter was deemed downright immoral and inappropriate for worship, the previous two requests were suggested in order that assimilated, English-speaking Jews might feel more able to relate to the liturgy and understand its significance. Foreign-language sermons and a lengthy Hebrew liturgy recited by a *chazan* (referred to as a 'Reader' by some communities of the period), had not only caused attendance to lapse, but had also led to a 'decline in synagogue decorum and an increase in religious apathy'.[58] This lack of solemnity had started as early as the end of the eighteenth century, when Jewish communities seeking a safe-haven from a backdrop of persecution enjoyed the 'free and easy atmosphere' of the synagogue, where familial warmth was strengthened by 'self-government and the holy joy created by the round of the religious year'.[59] No longer stimulated by the official service, which was bound by ancient Jewish law and lacked 'spontaneity, even intelligibility', congregations turned to the more relaxed environment of the synagogue for inspiration, leading to a 'certain spontaneity in prayer and sometimes a disregard for the Reader'.[60] The tendency towards cantorial extemporising also contributed to the lack of interest on behalf of the congregation.

Despite the apparent disquiet with synagogue practice in the Sephardi and Ashkenazi congregations, Endelman claims that many Jews felt that amending 'traditional' practice would be a social *faux pas*. He unites discussion of reform with the campaign for emancipation, using the terms of identification imposed on 'non-Anglican' denominations to address the reluctance behind supporting the West London Synagogue's founding committee. Writing about the subsequent prominence of the United Synagogue as the representative body of the Ashkenazi Orthodox Synagogues, established in 1870, Endelman acknowledges the ongoing concern regarding the social status of the 'reformers':

> The United Synagogue and the Chief Rabbinate enjoyed the support of Jewish City men because they could lay claim to being the Jewish equivalents of the Church of England and the archbishop of Canterbury. […] The conservative nature of orthodoxy paralleled the conservative nature of the Established Church, while the liberal nature of Reform that of Nonconformity.[61]

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[56] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 4.

[57] For more details of the *Mi Sheberach* blessings, see Endelman, *Broadening Jewish History*, 72, and Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 6.

[58] Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 6.

[59] Michael Leigh, 'Reform Judaism in Britain', 4.

[60] Michael Leigh, 'Reform Judaism in Britain', 4.

[61] Endelman, 'Communal Solidarity', 504-505.

It is presumably partly for such reasons that attempts to improve decorum at the two existing synagogues were met with opposition. A concern for rabbinical law, as well as the Sephardi community's own doctrines of self-government, were also serious considerations. The desire for a branch synagogue in the West End of London was unacceptable under *Ascama* One, one of Bevis Marks' laws by which it had been originally established.[62] *Ascama* One stipulated that another synagogue could not be set up within six miles of the original building; despite requests for its nullification since the end of the previous century on the grounds that it was anachronistic, each iteration was declined.[63] Similar requests were made by members of the Great Synagogue, with equally unsuccessful results. Bevis Marks' 1838 committee was counteracted by its opposers with a society 'for supporting and upholding the Jewish religion as handed down to us by our revered ancestors and to prevent innovations or changes in any of its recognized forms and customs unless sanctioned by the recognized authorities'.[64] This long and fussy title demonstrates the obstruction presented to any suggestions of change, even upon the formation of a committee whose own title referred to little other than the improvement of decorum in synagogue services. In 1840, a final petition for a branch synagogue was brought to Bevis Marks, incorporating 'a number of the suggested reforms'; refusal to approve this was the impetus for the founding of the West London Synagogue, which 'threw London Jewry into bitterness and turmoil for more than a decade'.[65] The full list of requirements for the new Synagogue was drawn up in the April 1840 meeting, and can be found in Appendix 1. At this point, opposition to the committee rallied around the fact that it was not 'sanctioned by the recognized authorities'. In light of this, Bevis Marks issued a *cherem* (excommunication) and encouraged all other synagogues to show their support by reading a statement during the Sabbath service on 22 January 1842; not every synagogue adhered to this request.

As demonstrated by the fact that a number of the West London Synagogue's suggested reforms were adopted by other, Orthodox, synagogues across the century (some even between the initial meeting of the founders in April 1840 and its subsequent inaugural service in January 1842), the outraged responses to the so-called 'Reform' synagogue came down not to questions of practice, but the two factors upon which opposition had been built throughout the 1830s. First, the 'Seceders' (as they became known) had given a public impression of the Anglo-Jewish community as one of dissent, nonconformity and disloyalty. Against a backdrop of a country ruled by both the State and the

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[62] The *Ascamot* were laws written up in Portuguese in 1664, following the foundation of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. Compiled by the *Mahamad* (the committee which oversaw the congregation's daily running), the *Ascamot* acted as a code of conduct and governed the internal workings and administration of the Synagogue. See Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 4-5, and 'The S&P Sephardi Community', Jewish Communities and Records UK (accessed 17 October 2019) https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/london/city_bevis/history.htm.

[63] Kershen and Romain, *Tradition and Change*, 6-7.

[64] Robert Liberles, 'The Origins of the Jewish Reform Movement in England', *AJS Review* 1 (1976): 122.

[65] Liberles, 'The Origins of the Jewish Reform Movement in England', 122-123.

established Church, as Endelman has suggested, many Jews did not wish to be associated with a breakaway congregation. Second, the founders of the West London Synagogue had actively disobeyed *Ascama* One, breaking religious authority. Given the history of apathy towards religious rulings by earlier generations of Bevis Marks congregants, in addition to the largely disinterested worship currently on display at the Synagogue, the irony of this objection is evident.

There was a theological opposition too, as anticipated by the same society, which warned against changes to practice which had not been 'handed down […] by our revered ancestors'. As was later discussed in great depth in the *Voice of Jacob* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, the apparent abandonment of the Oral Law, as laid out in the Talmud, went against more orthodox traditions which deemed the ancient rabbinical laws sacrosanct. In fact, by the time the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue had issued its *cherem* – less than a week before the West London Synagogue held its first service, on 27 January – the motives of the 'Reformers' were clear, and those who considered themselves 'Orthodox' (a term which became well-used in opposition to 'Reform') objected to their apparent rejection of the Talmud in preference to biblical precedent. The West London Synagogue's first minister, David Woolf Marks, made reference to this in his opening sermon to the new congregation, stating that while historic rabbinical opinion did have value, and was part of the Jewish 'tradition', its treatment by some as equal to the *Torah* in its divinity was misguided in the present period: 'We know that these books are human compositions; and though we are content to accept with reverence from our post-biblical ancestors advice and instruction, we cannot *unconditionally* accept their laws.'[66]

It was for this same reason that Marks defended the Synagogue's foundation on the grounds that reform, change and the adoption of external cultural influences had always played an instrumental role in the development of Judaism. In fact, Marks promoted the introduction of new practices (provided they were 'consonant with the spirit of the religion given us by the Almighty through Moses') in order to allow British Jews to celebrate their position of relative advantage in comparison with both historic and contemporary Jews in other areas of the world:

> […] our domestic, social and political life, is assuming a brightness, which we feel assured will continue to become even more cheering. Shall then, my brethren, the life of the Synagogue alone, remain darkened by the shadows of a sad, sad time? Is that most cherished part of our edifice to continue hung with the drapery of the deepest mourning and despair, whilst every other part on which our eyes dwell is decked with colours of the brightest hue?[67]

[66] David Woolf Marks, 'Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the "West London Synagogue for British Jews", on Thursday, January 27th, 5602 [1842]', in *Sermons preached on various occasions, at the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Series 1* (London: R. Groombridge and Sons, 1851), 7.

[67] Marks, 'Discourse delivered at the Consecration', 11.

Marks' reference here was not only to the state of mourning following the destruction of the second Temple in 70 CE, but also to the often secret and silent forms of prayer they had been forced to undertake in locations and periods of severe persecution. While his meaning was metaphorical, his use of visual imagery is apt to discussions of aesthetic within Judaism, which in turn is as crucial to practice as the liturgy. Sharman Kadish describes the artistic practice of *hiddur mitzvot*, a rabbinic commandment meaning the '[b]eautification of the commandments'.[68] Referring specifically to the Renaissance-constructed gated quarter of Venice which originated the term 'ghetto', Kadish claims that its 'exquisite interiors' were 'perhaps the best example of the flourishing of Jewish artistic culture under adverse conditions […] tucked away on upper storeys of the picturesque terraced houses'.[69] The centrality of visual interior beauty presumably also stemmed from the inability to construct lavish buildings on the main thoroughfare, or to celebrate devotion through chanting or song which would be visible or audible to passers-by. Despite a vast difference in circumstances, Kadish refers to the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue erected in Bevis Marks in 1701 as 'the premier British example of […] "Un espace caché" a hidden space, the enclosed sanctuary tucked away from public gaze'.[70] Following the examples of the ghetto and *shtetl* synagogues, Bevis Marks and other pre-emancipation synagogues remained separate and inconspicuous to British society, not wishing to incite further trouble. In the spirit of *hiddur mitzvot*, however, the congregation employed architect Joseph Avis, a Quaker who had worked with Christopher Wren, to design their building, which reflected the quality and style of Wren's own sacred spaces as well as Avis' designs for Puritanical and Non-Conformist chapels.[71] The interior was 'influenced by the Synagogue in Amsterdam', where many of the congregation had originated, and incorporated a number of candelabra and decorative features.

Kadish's important work on synagogue architecture adds weight to the notion that Anglo-Jewish identity could be, and was, designed and moulded by cultural decisions surrounding worship and Jewish place in society. It also makes the point that, on the whole, theological practice did not necessarily take a prominent role in these decisions. The construction of Bevis Marks close to the City, by someone with personal connections to the period's leading British architect, indicates that the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community enjoyed their position at the relative centre of British society. As Kadish identifies, 'British' architecture of the period, particularly the nineteenth century, was influenced by a number of other national styles, including Italian, French, and Egyptian. Subsequently, synagogues designed and built across the century followed architectural trends and were

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[68] Sharman Kadish, 'Constructing Identity: Anglo-Jewry and Synagogue Architecture', *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 405 (footnote 3). This commandment stems from a verse in the Song of Moses, which refers to a biblical text in Exodus 15:2, 'This is my God and I shall extol/beautify Him'.

[69] Kadish, 'Constructing Identity', 387.

[70] Kadish, 'Constructing Identity', 387. Kadish attributes the term to Dominique Jarrassé, an historian of French synagogue architecture.

[71] See 'History and Design', the Sephardi Community (accessed 6 November 2019) https://www.sephardi.org.uk/bevis-marks/history-design/.

placed in more prominent positions as Jews themselves became more prominent in society. Bevis Marks' survival during the Second World War, however, has been attributed to its unassuming fascia and position, while many others (including the Great Synagogue) were destroyed.

Kadish supposes that the Jewish community did not feel able to approach a prominent architect such as Wren himself at the time that the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue required a new building. She also points out that Jewish disabilities prevented such buildings to be erected or owned by Jews within the confines of the City and denied the Jewish community access to craftsmen's guilds and their trades. Subsequently, the earliest British synagogues – including Bevis Marks – were designed and constructed by Christian or other Non-Conformist architects and builders.[72] Regarding the West London Synagogue, Bernard suggests that the purchase of the original building on Burton Street – a Socialist chapel – was a result of admiration by Isaac Goldsmid, whose family were among the founders of the new community, for philanthropist and socialist Robert Owen.[73] Like Bevis Marks' early establishment, the Reform community relied heavily on the support of Non-Conformist groups, reaffirming to members of the Orthodox Jewish community that – now that Jews were campaigning for political emancipation – the foundation of the West London Synagogue was both a religious and a social disaster. However, the Synagogue's founders believed themselves to be responding to the political climate by demonstrating a desire for progress and 'the same freedom in their own affairs' as they were aiming for in their professional and social lives.[74]

Connections between society, culture, and architecture in Kadish's work is of particular relevance to the origins of musical reform in Victorian Jewish society. It was only in 1870 that the West London Synagogue was in a financial and social position to erect their first purpose-designed building on Upper Berkeley Street – a 'cathedral' style synagogue in keeping with both Jewish and Anglican architecture of the late-nineteenth century. Kadish claims that the cathedral synagogue, which became popular in the 1870s and 1880s 'went hand in hand with the development of the *Minhag Anglia* [Anglo-Jewish rite]'. Interestingly, Kadish attributes the cathedral synagogue architecture and its related practices to the United Synagogue (which was also established in 1870):

> The grand so-called 'cathedral synagogue' became *the* architectural type of the United Synagogue. […] [The Anglo-Jewish rite was] in reality imported from Germany by the Chief Rabbis Adler, father Nathan and especially son Hermann, who dominated the religious life of Anglo-Jewry throughout the reign of Queen Victoria. Adlerian Orthodoxy meant traditional Jewish content dressed up in English packaging: top hats and dog collars worn by clergy, professional *hazanim* […] leading choral service and genteelly

[72] Kadish, 'Constructing Identity', 388.
[73] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 14.
[74] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 6.

> decorous proceedings in an aesthetically pleasing environment. It was a formula calculated to appeal to English-born Jews. The recipe was effective; it staved off the inroads of Reform Judaism until well into the twentieth century.[75]

Kadish's final sentence is particularly striking in its implication that much of the English custom adopted by the Orthodox or United synagogues was a direct attempt to reduce defection to the West London Synagogue. She also claims ownership of the choral tradition for the United Synagogue, which only relates part of the story. The West London Synagogue was not the first to introduce a choir; according to Bernard, this was one of the concessions made in the late 1820s by Bevis Marks, namely, to improve decorum in part by giving 'younger members of the congregation' a responsibility during services.[76] However, it seems that the inclusion of a choir at Bevis Marks was not enough to sustain the interest of the Reformers. While not their only consideration, the somewhat haphazard nature of choral singing at the Synagogue contrasts with the early efforts made at the West London Synagogue; it can be assumed that it did not comply with the Reformers' desire to hold 'a revised service in the Hebrew language in conformity with the principles of the Jewish religion in the manner which may appear best calculated to excite feelings of devotion'.[77] As both Bernard and *chazan* Eliot Alderman have intimated, the style of singing undertaken at Bevis Marks is unclear – although Alderman notes the introduction of the choir at a much later date than Bernard, in 1838. Bernard's statement that the Synagogue Elders agreed that '[t]he boys should chant instead of singing' reflects Alderman's suggestion that the choir consisted of six paid choristers and choirboys who most likely sang in unison, with occasional improvised harmony.[78] A *chazan* was retained alongside the choir; David de Sola committed significant energy to the formalisation of synagogue music, later collaborating with Emanuel Aguilar on a history and collection of Sephardi melodies transcribed and harmonised for synagogue use (see Chapter Three).

Following Julius Mombach's appointment to the role of choirmaster at the Great Synagogue in 1841, a report in the *Voice of Jacob* reviewing the Synagogue's High Holyday services stated that:

> The appropriate enunciation of our heart stirring liturgy by the [*chazan*] made it widely and profoundly felt; and the substitution of the solemn chaunting of an efficient choir (admirably trained by Mr. Mombach) instead of the meretricious and unseemly accompaniments of old times, gave to the hymns and psalms their appropriate effect.[79]

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[75] Kadish, 'Constructing Identity', 393-394.

[76] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 4.

[77] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 9, quoting from the minutes of the West London Synagogue, 24 October 1840.

[78] Eliot Alderman, 'Echoes of Iberia: The Music of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London', presented at 'Magnified and Sanctified: The Music of Jewish Prayer' (Leeds University, 2015).

[79] 'Great Synagogue, London', *Voice of Jacob*, 15 October 1841.

The report also made note of the 'manifest improvement in the general demeanour, especially towards the conclusion of the service', and shows gratitude that 'the gentleman most zealous for the abolition of the sale of [*mitzvot*] retains the opportunity of officially promoting so excellent a reform'.

While Mombach's choir would appear to have been well-trained and inspired greater devotion in the Great Synagogue's congregation than in its recent past, and overall behaviour at the Synagogue was deemed by the *Voice of Jacob* (which remained an anti-Reform newspaper) to be greatly improved, the establishment of the West London Synagogue was already underway. Such reports support claims by historians, including Endelman and Bernard, who suggest that 'had the would-be reformers on both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi sides confined themselves to these relatively innocuous demands, both communities, over a period of years, would have accepted them without too much demur'.[80] Bernard states that it was the excitement over emancipation which led to a more radical and impatient approach by the Reformers, whose desire for social freedom extended to a quest for worship on their terms. Made up of members of the 'Cousinhood' – interrelated families of the wealthiest of Anglo-Jewish society, the founders of the West London Synagogue were also, in the main, key supporters of the emancipation campaign. While many emancipationists were strongly against synagogue reform – most prominently Moses Montefiore – a number of these families had already started to dissolve the denominational factions through intermarriage between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. To that end, a synagogue tailored towards 'British Jews' better reflected the identity felt by those at the pinnacle of Jewish society.

The *Times* reported 'a small but well-trained choir' at the West London Synagogue's consecration service, during which David Woolf Marks gave his first sermon.[81] It is unclear whether this was an all-male or mixed choir; the Synagogue's regular choir consisted only of men and boys well into Verrinder's employment, but three or four female singers were sometimes introduced to supplement the choir during special services, as I shall discuss further in the following chapter.[82] Marks did not mention the choir in his sermon – other than to state that 'appropriate psalms and hymns will be chaunted [sic.]', but spoke about the Synagogue's new modes of practice, indicating their origins in biblical instruction and relevance for changing times:

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[80] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 6.

[81] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 18.

[82] Reports of female singers in the West London Synagogue choir seem to appear from 1859; however, the lack of discussion surrounding their introduction suggests that as a practice this may have begun earlier. The *Jewish Chronicle*'s report of the Synagogue's 1849 inauguration ceremony at their second building in Margaret Street does not mention female choristers, and given the opinions expressed regarding the use of a 'hired choir' at the end of the piece, it seems likely that female voices would have raised concern. Interestingly, this report states that Psalm 111, sung by the choir during the ceremony, was 'accompanied by the seraphine', although other choral contributions appear to have been unaccompanied. See MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, '1859 November Report of the Organ Committee', and 'Consecration of the New Synagogue called "The West London Synagogue of British Jews"', *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 June 1849.

> Not, then, to weaken, but to strengthen our faith; not to trespass against, but to consolidate the great principles of that law which our fathers tremblingly heard amidst the thunders of Sinai – this Synagogue has been established. [...] we desire to reject nothing that bears the stamp of antiquity, when that stamp is genuine, and in accordance with the revealed will of God; nor to condemn anything because it is new, provided the newness of the measure be consonant with the spirit of the religion given us by the Almighty through Moses.[83]

Marks also emphasised the need for a revival of spirituality in services, rhetorically questioning the congregation:

> Does the service now impress us, do we leave our Synagogue better in mind or in spirit than we entered it; do we feel as if we had been in converse with the most High; do we draw from it those benefits which it was intended and is calculated to effect?[84]

In this and later sermons, Marks ensured to base all the West London Synagogue's practice in biblical history and law, against criticisms from opposers that the Synagogue had abandoned essential Jewish traditions as laid out in the Talmud. In effect, however, Marks and the new congregation were enacting the five principles on which the Synagogue had been established, as laid out in its 1840 Declaration – namely, the time, length and location of services was more amenable to a community residing the west of the city; the improvement of its performance; and the inclusion of more and better religious instruction 'by competent persons'. They did not see the amendments made to the aesthetics and order of the service as anything other than an interpretation of Orthodoxy which better suited the desires of assimilated British Jews.

It is difficult to determine exactly what music was performed by the earliest choir at the West London Synagogue. Initially, according to Bernard, directed by Messrs Alexander and Maintzer, the first notated copies of the choral liturgy used at the Synagogue were published in 1861, nearly twenty years after its foundation, once Verrinder had been appointed.[85] What these copies demonstrate, however, is that the music which Verrinder inherited (and for which he subsequently arranged organ accompaniments) included a number of new compositions set to psalm texts and *piyyutim*. Written and

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[83] Marks, 'Discourse delivered at the Consecration', 10.

[84] Marks, 'Discourse delivered at the Consecration', 17.

[85] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 15. I have not discovered any further information about either Alexander or Maintzer with regards to music at the West London Synagogue; the *Jewish Chronicle* states that, prior to the inauguration of the organ in 1859, '[t]he musical arrangements […] were under the management of […] Mr. Charles Salaman, Mr. John Simon, and the late Mr. Simon W. Waley. The choir-master was the late Mr. Edward Hart.' *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 January 1892.

arranged by musicians such as Charles Salaman, a founder member of the Synagogue and later collaborator with Verrinder, and Edward Hart, choirmaster until Verrinder took over the role in 1863, it would appear that an entirely new, 'British' musical liturgy was required to reinforce the Synagogue's aim to dissipate earlier rifts between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim. As I shall discuss in more detail in the following chapter, melodies which were considered 'ancient' tunes of either Spanish or German origin were arranged and harmonised by Verrinder, perhaps indicating their absence in choral form prior to 1859. To that end, the new musical tradition was an appropriate progression for a community whose identity was bound up in British social and cultural values.

Religious 'movements' from Oxford to West London

The style being emulated in the West London Synagogue's musical practice is particularly emphasised in one letter from March 1842, although the congregation would not have acknowledged it in the terms claimed in the correspondence. Henry Michael Behrend, a boy of fourteen, wrote to his mother in Liverpool that the service 'was much more like a church […] the choir sang most beautifully a *mizmor l'david* [Psalm of David] – it was a very pretty air and well adapted for divine service.'[86] This comparison with church practice not only refers to the style of singing adopted in the West London Synagogue, but also the type of devotion it inspired. At this point, it was not uncommon for Jews to attend church services, and vice versa – Endelman describes how Constance De Rothschild preferred to attend services at Westminster Abbey to services at the (presumably Great) Synagogue, because '[t]he place, the service, the singing, the sermon – all were so full of the true and real dignity of religion'.[87] One of the many Rothschilds who chose to remain affiliated with the Orthodox synagogue, despite its misgivings, her words indicate the Jewish void being filled by the West London Synagogue. Any suggestion that the Synagogue's services were similar to the church, however, drew greater rifts between it and the larger Orthodox Jewish community. However, it is hard to ignore the fact that, alongside aesthetic developments in the synagogue, similar changes to Anglican practice were being introduced in order to improve decorum and structure in church services, most notably in relation to the Tractarian or Oxford Movement.

The Tractarian Movement, established by Oxford academics and clergy in the 1830s, attempted to reintroduce elements of Catholic practice which had been lost to mainstream Protestant worship, including stricter dress codes for priests, a deeper sense of spirituality and ritual, and the widespread incorporation of choral music, which was deemed 'essential' for leading the congregation in hymn-singing.[88] Bernarr Rainbow's depiction of the state of the Anglican Church prior to the influence of the

[86] Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 18-19.
[87] Endelman, 'Communal Solidarity', 502.
[88] Philip Barrett, 'The Tractarians and Church Music - 1', *Musical Times* 113/1549 (1972): 301.

Oxford Movement does not seem unfamiliar when compared with the chaotic atmosphere of the late-eighteenth-century synagogue described earlier. Depicting a church where the pulpit 'was made a convenient receptacle for the hats, coats, and sticks of the male members of the congregation' or, in another example, where 'a covered font was used to house scrubbing brushes, mop, and floor-cloths', Rainbow summarises the tone of the early-nineteenth century Anglican Church as 'one of apathy, neglect, and irreverence'.[89] Such images – alongside other examples of the disrespect shown to the most sacred areas of the church, including the altar and communion table – echo the displacement of receiving a holy blessing during the reading of the *Torah* on the *bimah* (altar) through the prioritisation of monetary exchange to receive the blessing itself.[90] It would also appear that Anglican practice was susceptible to the same criticism by Burney that Jewish worship in Amsterdam had been exposed to twenty years previously. In his 1789 *History of Music*, Burney described how local choirs would perform the Psalms, leaving them devoid of piety; he also claimed that it was far better to attend a service where there was an organ 'sufficiently powerful to render the voices of the clerk and those who join in his outcry wholly inaudible'.[91] It was against this backdrop that a new focus on both improved music and musical performance was required.

The suspicion shown by many to the more radical or ritualistic elements of the Oxford Movement – in particular, those aspects which felt too closely linked to Catholicism – echo some of the same sentiments shown to the breakaway founders of the West London Synagogue who appeared to be abandoning rabbinic law. In both instances, however, the drive towards an improvement of decorum was necessary for the return to a more devotional form of worship. Unlike other attempts at liturgical reform which preceded or ran concurrent with the Oxford Movement, such as the increasingly High Church stance taken across the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, the Tractarians centred around the aesthetic qualities of worship rather than liturgical or doctrinal amendments. Neither the Tractarian or Jewish Reformers made fundamental changes to the liturgy at the heart of their worship; just as the West London Synagogue made Jewish liturgy appealing through its use of English and increased choral singing, the liturgical focus of the Oxford Movement was to re-explore the Book of Common Prayer to discover 'those rubrics […] which provided opportunities for music to contribute to solemnity'.[92]

It is perhaps for this reason that the Oxford Movement has become famously linked with developments in musical worship practice, although recent scholarship has indicated that the picture is more complicated than it might seem. The debates surrounding the Oxford Movement and the West

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[89] Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-1872*, second edition (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 7-8.

[90] Rainbow quotes T. Mozley's story of an occasion in Wiltshire where 'people sat during the sermon not only on the Communion rail and the step before it, but on the table itself.' Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 7.

[91] Charles Burney, *History of Music* (1935 edition), 57; quoted in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 11.

[92] Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 5.

London Synagogue's roles in developing religious music, however, indicate at their wider impact on national musical progress: the two institutions grew out of an environment of discontent and attempts at reform; they introduced what were considered by some to be radical changes to practice; and thus increased the rate at which change happened across the country. In fact, just as histories of the West London Synagogue have demonstrated that its practices were not as radical as they were accused of being, Bernarr Rainbow states that 'the first attempts at a reform of liturgical practice to occur under the influence of the Oxford Movement are sometimes erroneously believed to have involved extreme ritualism' – in part a result of the drastic measures which were required to remedy the 'depths of irreverence' to which church practice had stooped.[93]

Rainbow's focus on 'the Choral Revival' which began in 1839 perhaps provides the most appropriate comparative situation to the developments in musical practice which emerged principally through synagogue reform. He acknowledges that the Oxford Movement 'gave rise' to the Choral Revival, in much the same way as initial changes to the musical structure of the West London Synagogue's services paved the way for what could be described as the creation of a Jewish choral tradition across a number of non-reformed synagogues. Nicholas Temperley, however, is more sceptical of Rainbow's attitude that the Choral Revival was 'directly connected' with the Oxford Movement, stating a viewpoint which perhaps reinforces the latter's similarities with the West London Synagogue to a greater extent than Rainbow's original comment:

> In reality the choral revival was the culmination of a long, slow process of improvement, begun long before the Oxford Movement had been thought of. Certainly the pace of reform was accelerated in the 1840s; […] Seen in this light it is the Oxford Movement that appears merely incidental, if not, to a great extent, a confusing or retrogressive episode.[94]

Temperley's notion that the Oxford Movement was 'retrogressive' stems from its appeal within Victorian society. By and large, those who were in favour of some of the earliest musical practices it inspired – in particular, the introduction of Gregorian chant to replace Anglican chant – and who attended services which incorporated Tractarian worship were 'wealthy commuters' and 'upper-middle-class Victorian[s]' who were 'willing to accept what was fashionable.'[95] This was in part a response to the new role of the church choir, which – in ideal circumstances – was paid, high quality and able to perform the new chants to perfection; in most situations, however, this was unachievable for both

[93] Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 7.

[94] Nicholas Temperley, 'The Anglican Choral Revival', *Musical Times* 112/1535 (1971): 73.

[95] Temperley, 'The Anglican Choral Revival', 75. Ironically, Bennett Zon's more recent work on the period has indicated that Victorian music histories often aimed to prove that Gregorian chant was an improved, superior development of ancient Jewish musical practice. See Zon, 'Victorian Antisemitism and Gregorian Chant' in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 99-119.

financial reasons and limits of musical ability. Much practice was required in order to achieve the desired effect. Congregations were unable to contribute well-sung responses to the chants, and in some cases were actively discouraged from doing so in preference for a purely choral service. For the majority of British society, therefore, strict Tractarianism lacked appeal due to its apparent High-Church 'popery' and displacement of the congregation. Over the course of the century, Anglican musical practice across the country took inspiration from the more ordered form of worship promoted by the Tractarian movement, as many people acknowledged that '[t]he splendour of the choral service was […] the outward sign of a more prosperous, educated, industrial society.'[96]

In some ways, this argument feels remarkably similar to Endelman's theory that the West London Synagogue's reforms were supported in the main by upper-class Victorian Jews whose concerns revolved around aesthetic and British taste; indeed, the Synagogue's choir, when it was introduced, did not initially have congregational participation at its heart. As I will discuss in the following chapter, the Tractarian practice of having male-only choirs was convenient to synagogues which wished to replicate the new fashionable style, as female singers would not have been acceptable under Orthodox Jewish law. However, within the church, these choirs replaced the mixed-voice groups which predominated most parishes across the country. As such, half of the Anglican community had lost their representative voice. In 1862, as I shall explore in Chapter Two, Verrinder was at the forefront of the drive to give voice back to the female congregants of the West London Synagogue. Despite this difference, both institutions were attempting to bring more devotion to their congregation through high-quality musical settings of liturgy.

Temperley's statement is striking in its closeness to comments made by Endelman, Bernard and others that the Jewish Reform Movement need not have existed, had its founders held out a little longer for amendments to appear in mainstream Jewish worship.[97] I would argue that both the Oxford Movement and Jewish reform as instigated by the West London Synagogue were mid-nineteenth-century catalysts for change to worship which extended beyond their own movements, particularly given their similar response to dissatisfaction with the state of religious services. Their similarities are emphasised when one connects the two movements not just chronologically, but geographically. While conceived in Oxford, the musical practices which spread and developed beyond the early Tractarian

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[96] Jeremy Dibble, 'Music and Anglicanism in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume III: Partisan Anglicanism and its Global Expansion 1829-c.1914*, ed. Rowan Strong (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 394.

[97] Bernard claims that '[t]here was a clear possibility that had the would-be reformers on both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi sides confined themselves to these relatively innocuous demands, both communities, over a period of years, would have accepted them without too much demur.' Her reasoning for the Reformers 'tak[ing] matters into their own hands' not only refers to the radicalism which pervaded the emancipation campaign, but also the apathy of the religious leaders of the Jewish community, particularly Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell who 'never learnt English properly and was satisfied to live out his long tenure quietly among his books, oblivious to religious crisis, and unsympathetic to pressures for change.' *A Beacon of Light*, 6-7.

churches had most impact in London. In fact, Rainbow and subsequent writers on the Anglican Choral Revival locate 'the foundation upon which the Choral Revival was built' in services which took place at the Margaret Chapel, on Margaret Street.[98] The musical strength of these services, which 'attracted many Tractarian followers, including the future prime minister William Gladstone', was inspired by Oxford chaplain Frederick Oakeley, who became the Chapel's minister in 1839 and was assisted in creating a Gregorian-style service by organist Richard Redhead.[99] While more detailed musical comparisons are required between the Oxford Movement's early inspiration for the Choral Revival and the West London Synagogue's impact on choral music within the synagogue, it is striking that upon outgrowing their initial building at Burton Street in 1849, the West London Synagogue congregation moved to its second premises – on Margaret Street, a little further west and on the opposite side of the road to the Margaret Chapel (see Figure 4).[100] Considered a more 'permanent' residence for the congregation (until they moved once again in 1870 to the 'cathedral' synagogue on Upper Berkeley Street, Figure 5), the Margaret Street synagogue – designed by member of the Reform community David Mocatta – was custom-built and ornately decorated, undergoing significant refurbishment in 1859 in order to accommodate the new organ.[101] That same year, the Margaret Street Chapel was consecrated as All Saints' Church, nine years after building work began to convert the site into 'London's leading Anglo-Catholic Church' – itself less than a year following the first service held at the Margaret Street Synagogue.[102]

The geographical and chronological proximity between the activities of two of Victorian Britain's major reforming religious communities emphasises the significance of religious identity in discussions of nineteenth century 'Britishness'. In particular, the West London focus reiterates Temperley's and Endelman's theories that much of religious reform in the early century revolved around 'aesthetic' appeal within select (and elite) communities residing in affluent areas of the capital.

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[98] Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 15.

[99] Dibble, 'Music and Anglicanism', 392-393.

[100] Little research acknowledges the geographical proximity between the Tractarian and Reform institutions. The most detailed account of the two buildings in (indirect) comparison can be found in Philip Temple, Colin Thom and Andrew Saint, 'Margaret Street', in *Survey of London: Volumes 51 and 52, South-East Marylebone*, ed. Andrew Saint (London: Yale University Press, 2017), which accompanies the ongoing UCL project of the same name. I discovered this whilst preparing a presentation for the 2019 Woolf Institute Research Day. I intend to complete further research into the musical and social interactions between Margaret Chapel/All Saints' Church and the West London Synagogue as part of my post-doctoral work. A copy of the relevant draft chapter contained in the UCL volumes can be found at 'South East Marylebone', UCL Bartlett School of Architecture (accessed 11 November 2019) https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/architecture/research/survey-london/south-east-marylebone.

[101] A number of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* between 1848 and 1859 outline the design and refurbishment of the Margaret Street Synagogue. See in particular 'West London Synagogue of British Jews', 9 June 1848; 'Consecration of the New Synagogue, called the "West London Synagogue British Jews"', 29 June 1849; and 'Re-Opening of the West London Synagogue', 30 September 1859.

[102] 'Margaret Street', in *Survey of London* 51/52, 2.

Furthermore, this itself highlights that the likely inspiration for change to (musical) worship stemmed from dissatisfaction within the upper and middle classes, whose ideas of religious practice were at odds with the chaotic and corrupted reality. While there is more work to be done regarding specific comparisons in style between the two Margaret Street institutions, at this point my intention is not to force them into a single mould by claiming that they share specific musical influences. Yet the question remains whether the growing popularity of the Oxford Movement inspired specific musical choices in the West London Synagogue.

Figure 4: Detail of 'Watkins Commercial & General London Directory Map' by J. Cross & Son, Engravers, London, 1852. Showing the three locations of the West London Synagogue, and All Saints' Church. Dictionary of Victorian London (accessed 26 June 2017) https://www.victorianlondon.org/1852map/1852map.htm.

On the surface, the inspiration for the Tractarian Movement's musical service (Gregorian chant and Renaissance repertoire which saw the introduction of Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons to the Anglican Church) seems distinct from the West London Synagogue's desire to leave seemingly 'antiquated' Jewish musical styles behind in favour of new material. However, the collection of music for the West London Synagogue initially published in the early 1860s, along with summaries in the *Jewish Chronicle* from the earliest days of the Synagogue's existence, indicate that the chanting of psalms and other liturgical texts remained popular in services, albeit with largely newly composed material which both harked back to earlier (not necessarily Jewish) styles of devotional singing and also reflected Victorian ideals of modernity and progress. By the 1880s, the majority of synagogues represented by the United Synagogue body had adopted not just the style of this repertoire, but many of the pieces which themselves had been composed for the West London Synagogue. Similarly, the Choral Revival which spread from the earliest Tractarian institutions – including All Saints' on Margaret Street – achieved a

musical equilibrium between ancient and modern practice which, by the late century, solidified into a specifically Anglican choral 'tradition' which satisfied the needs of the larger community. I would argue that, when exploring the use of music as an expression of Anglo-Jewish identity, notions of international religious, political, and cultural influence remain secondary to more immediate inspiration not just nationally, but within the immediate vicinity. The almost concurrent establishment of two choral 'traditions' – from their inception in different cities, to their early development within the same street in West London, to their ultimate dispersion across the country – indicates the fundamentally national identity integral to the Anglo-Jewish choral soundscape. Returning to Slobin's panoramic metaphor, with which I began this chapter, the 'progressiv[e] zoom in' towards a micro-study does not complete the journey. In the case of this dissertation, the micro-study itself is the start of a more detailed exploration which pans out from a central point and interacts with other micro-studies, creating a more accurate vision of the musical life of Victorian Britain as a whole. With that in mind, discussion of Verrinder's arrival at the West London Synagogue on Margaret Street in 1859, to which I now turn, allows for a greater insight into overlaps between the British church and synagogue worlds.

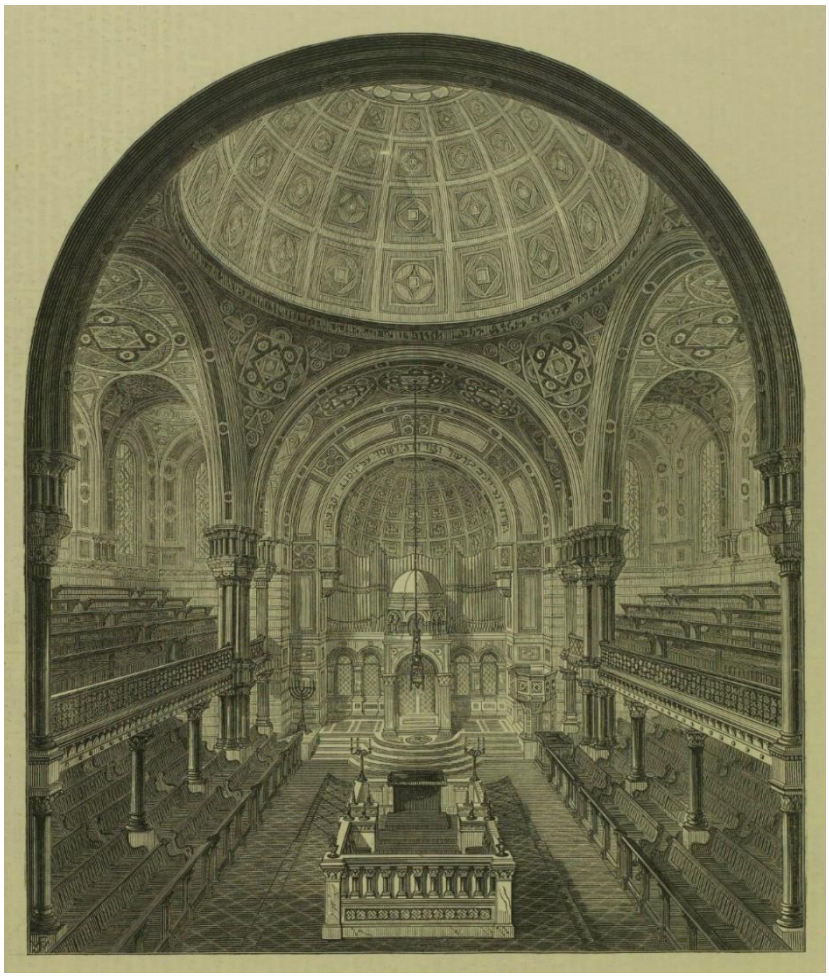

Figure 5: Illustration of the interior of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, Upper Berkeley Street. *Illustrated London News*, 27 January 1872.

CHAPTER TWO

Introducing the other 'Other': Verrinder as the 'double man'

Figure 6: Image of Charles Garland Verrinder, mid-nineteenth century. Courtesy of Joanna Newland.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the West London Synagogue's journey towards an Anglo-Jewish musical style which represented the community's British heritage was led predominantly by a man who, in Victorian musical circles, was the epitome of belonging. Moreover, as an Anglican working in a synagogue, Verrinder's status as the 'Other' allowed him to witness first-hand the Jewish community's desire to be an accepted part of a larger society. While sources predominantly indicate that Verrinder's

work was received positively, occasional remarks or oversights suggest that his 'strange combination of duties' were sometimes disapproved of by both his Jewish and Christian associates.[1]

The level of subtle (and unsubtle) 'othering' which pervaded Victorian society is most clearly seen in approaches to prominent figures such as Benjamin Disraeli – the 'test case' for the period's complicated double-standards regarding Jewish assimilation and anti-Semitism.[2] Anthony Wohl has indicated that the satirical press did its best to identify Disraeli solely as a 'Jew', using images of sinister characters from the Bible and literature and emphasising his stereotypical 'Jewish' facial features, while contemporary politicians and commentators suspected Disraeli's loyalty to Britain due to his remaining 'a Hebrew to the end'.[3] This was despite his family's conversion to Christianity, and their financial contributions which made them popular in social circles. Michael Ragussis describes Disraeli as 'the double man, haunted his whole life by the charge of insincerity and represented as the man of masks, the great actor, the crypto-Jew.'[4] It is ironic, then, that some biographies neglect to mention his faith at all.[5]

While himself not Jewish, converted or otherwise, the fragility and impact of Verrinder's position at the West London Synagogue can be seen in comparison with treatment of Disraeli as a British politician and as a published author whose considerable opus is now largely forgotten.[6] Similarities can be drawn between the converted Jewish politician whose rise to power was considered by some an attempted 'Judaization' of the Christian world, and the Anglican-trained synagogue organist whose faith and suitability for his role – amidst an overwhelmingly encouraging response to his work for the West London Synagogue – was occasionally treated with suspicion.[7] This was despite the fact that, across Europe and the United States, synagogue organists were almost always of Christian origin, due in large part to the absence of Jewish musicians trained on the instrument. Germany, in particular, during a period of intensive religious and musical reform in the 1840s to 1860s, employed Christians to the roles of synagogue organist and choirmaster, with many German musicians migrating to the United States and taking up similar positions in Ashkenazi synagogues there.[8] Reports demonstrate that

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[1] *Illustrated Review*, 15 May 1873.

[2] Michael Ragussis, 'The "Secret" of English Anti-Semitism: Anglo-Jewish Studies and Victorian Studies', *Victorian Studies* 40/2 (1997): 300.

[3] Anthony S. Wohl, '"Ben JuJu": Representations of Disraeli's Jewishness in the Victorian Political Cartoon', *Jewish History* 10/2 (1996): 89-134.

[4] Ragussis, 'The "Secret" of English Anti-Semitism', 300.

[5] See for instance the biography published for English Heritage in P J Harris, 'Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), Prime minister and novelist', in *The Movers & Shakers of Victorian England* (English Heritage, London: Think Publishing, 2006).

[6] Ragussis, 'The "Secret" of English Anti-Semitism', 300.

[7] Ragussis, 'The "Secret" of English Anti-Semitism', 298.

[8] See Tina Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 33; Marsha Bryan Endelman, *Discovering Jewish Music* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 126.

attitudes towards such musicians were equally varied, however, indicating the complicated relationship between Jewish worship and national musical preferences and the steps required to accommodate them in synagogues across the Jewish world.

David Cesarani's biography of Disraeli opens with the – perhaps rhetorical – question '[d]oes Benjamin Disraeli deserve a place in a series of books called Jewish Lives?'.[9] A similar question could be posed in a different context regarding Verrinder's role in defining the sound of Victorian Jewish music. Neither prominent enough to feature in a history of British church musicians, nor eligible to be part of a history of Jewish composers, Verrinder is another example of a 'double man' whose career was both dependent on and let down by Victorian prejudices against Jews and Jewishness.

There is a paradox between questioning whether Verrinder's status as a 'non-Jew' negatively impacted his place in Anglo-Jewish musical history, and whether sources which mention his name but ignore his background are just as damaging, given the professional and social risks he took by dedicating his life to promoting Jewish music within an environment of ingrained anti-Semitism. Ragussis quotes Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, which he claims 'posed the question for the entire nineteenth century […] "Who will be the champion of a Jew…?"'.[10] Prejudices from both sides which, as we shall see, have led to some insular attitudes concerning definitions of Jewish music and musical best practice, have caused Verrinder's work both during and after his lifetime to lose its musical, religious, and social value.

It has been interesting to note both direct and indirect accusations from other synagogue congregations and individuals that Verrinder's Anglican background – or at least his typically 'British' musical training – while vital to the improvement of musical standards in Jewish worship, undermined the so-called 'authenticity' of the West London Synagogue's liturgical repertoire (about which more in Chapter Four). That said, Verrinder's lineage came under much less scrutiny than his Jewish counterparts. Jewish musicians of the Victorian period (and since) struggled to relinquish elements of their religious background, even when their careers focussed on secular musical performance or composition. Intricate details of their Jewish upbringing were routinely drawn into assessments of their ability to produce or perform 'British' musical works, and a 'natural' affinity with their musical heritage was perceived in compositions or performances of works pertaining to Old Testament themes. Furthermore, Wagner and others encouraged the belief that 'Jewishness' was indelibly marked in one's musical output regardless of the theme or content of the work at hand. Against this background of generalisations and collective assumptions, in this chapter I explore Verrinder's family, upbringing and musical education in some detail, looking beyond Verrinder's status as a 'non-Jew' to discover more

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[9] David Cesarani, *Disraeli: The Novel Politician* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 1. This question does not only relate to Disraeli's conversion; Cesarani unfolds a narrative which both supports the 'double man' image and also takes a more cynical perspective – Disraeli's quickness to both use and dismiss his Jewish roots, according to his own political ends.

[10] Ragussis, 'The "Secret" of English Anti-Semitism', 298. The full quotation uses the word 'Jewess', referring to Scott's character Rebecca.

about the man himself. Aside from providing insight into the individual at the core of this dissertation, the results of this have been twofold: first, I have unearthed numerous errors and confusions regarding Verrinder's life and career as it has been reported in academic discourse to date, suggesting that his biographical information required revisiting. Second, by investigating the details of Verrinder's musical training – not just where and with whom, but how it was undertaken, areas of specific musical focus and responsibility and, where possible, Verrinder's own reflections on his education – I have been able to assess some of the ways that his Anglican background affected his ability to give voice to the Anglo-Jewish cause. While sources suggest that some viewed Verrinder's 'outsider' status as a disadvantage – or even detrimental – to his role at the West London Synagogue, this chapter aims instead to demonstrate how it was essential to his work to – using Scott's word – 'champion' Jewish cultural and religious practices for the social benefit of British Jews.[11]

What's in a name? Verrinder and family

Born in 1834 near Blakeney, Gloucestershire, Charles Garland Verrinder was the eldest of five children to Charles Garland and Elizabeth (née Virgo). Blessed with distinctive middle and surnames (albeit very much following in his father's footsteps), Verrinder was from birth given the responsibility of continuing the family lineage.[12] Both Charles Garland Verrinders' dedication to their work ensured that their name(s) would be remembered. The head of a working-class family, Charles Senior moved his wife and sons, Charles and Edgar, to Salisbury in the latter half of the 1830s, where he took up a position at the Cathedral and subsequently became Senior Verger. He stayed in post until his death in 1879, when he was buried in the Cathedral, as was Elizabeth in January 1888.[13] Following his death, Elizabeth

[11] I feel very fortunate to have made contact with Verrinder's great-great-granddaughter, Joanna Newland, through her work on the family tree. She has given me permission to use her images of Verrinder as well as information she has gathered on him and his immediate family.

[12] The middle name 'Garland' – which Verrinder used in his signature throughout his life – seems to have been adopted in order to retain his grandmother's maiden name in the family line. This information is based on a family tree published on 'Ancestry' (accessed 7 March 2019) www.ancestry.co.uk. Verrinder's baptism record from September 1834 states his surname as 'Garland Verrender' [sic.]. The naming of children after living relatives was not uncommon in Victorian England, although it was unconventional to name the first-born son after his own father. There appear to be a combination of new and repeated names used within the Verrinder family of three boys and two girls. Verrinder's own daughter, born in 1859, was named Alice Elizabeth, after Verrinder's youngest sister who had died in 1844 and his (living) mother. It was common to name the first-born son after his paternal grandfather, only using the father's own name for the third son – see Donna Przecha, 'The Importance of Names and Naming Patterns', Genealogy Home Articles (accessed 6 March 2019) https://www.genealogy.com/articles/research/35_donna.html.

[13] David Milborrow, 'Salisbury Cathedral Burials 1813-1970', Wiltshire OPC Project (accessed 26 November 2015) https://www.wiltshire-opc.org.uk/Items/Salisbury/Salisbury%20-%20Burials%201813-1970%20(Cathedral).pdf.

and her children dedicated a window to Charles in the Cathedral's Chapel of St Edmund and St Thomas, showing an angel with a harp, Moses and David, and Melchizedek and Abraham offering Isaac.[14] While Charles' support for his son's work at the West London Synagogue is unknown, it is striking that the window depicts a musical theme as well as key figures from the Old Testament and Jewish history.

Charles' nearly forty-year employment at Salisbury appears to have instilled in his three sons a strong work ethic; Verrinder and his brothers all held long, illustrious professions serving their community.[15] Charles Verrinder Junior's dedication to work in religious institutions is particularly striking given his father's profession. His brother Edgar became the Superintendent of South Western Railway having begun at the company aged fourteen; he was frequently responsible for overseeing the Royal family's travel arrangements.[16] Verrinder's youngest brother Thomas worked at the Grosvenor Gallery Library on Kensington High Street for over twenty years.[17] The Library seems to have been used as an address to which potential candidates for domestic positions and rooms available could send their applications, and was often referred to as 'Verrinder's Library'.[18]

The name 'Verrinder', then, was familiar enough in Victorian England, across religious, business, literary and musical society. It has nevertheless caused significant orthographic trouble at the time and since, with misspellings and assumptions generating a wide circulation of incorrect information.[19] Across many primary sources and library catalogues, Verrinder's name appears as C. C. Verrinder,[20] Dr S. G. Verrinder,[21] and – my personal favourite – Mr Verrindio.[22] This is despite Verrinder's assiduousness in personal letters, correspondence to the press and published music to give his name and initials in full, often with his title or post-nominals – a habit which has been invaluable for my research into the chronology of synagogue music published in Victorian Britain (see Chapter Three). This assiduousness was highlighted in January 1881, through the appearance of an imposter in Canada claiming to be Verrinder. Verrinder wrote to at least two musical papers to refute this claim,

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[14] My thanks to Emily Naish at the Salisbury Cathedral Archives for information relating to the Verrinder family.

[15] Verrinder Senior's personality also clearly left an impression on Australian author Guy Newell Boothby (1867-1905) who, having been educated at the Priory School, Salisbury until his early teens, later wrote a novel titled *My Indian Queen: Being a Record of Sir Charles Verrinder, Baronet, in the East Indies* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1901). See 'Boothby, Guy Newell (1867–1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (accessed 6 April 2016) http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/boothby-guy-newell-5293/text8931.

[16] Edgar Verrinder's obituary in the *Times* (25 July 1893) stated that one of the first letters of condolence to his widow was sent from the Prince of Wales.

[17] *Athenaeum*, 30 December 1905.

[18] *Times*, 15 March 1880.

[19] Some flexibility in the spelling of names in official documents seems to be common for the period – including 'Verrender', 'Elisabeth'/'Elizabeth' for Verrinder's mother, and Emilia/Emily for Verrinder's sister.

[20] Online record for the copy of *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews* held at the Public Library of Amsterdam. The font chosen for the front cover and title page of the volumes leaves very little distinction between the 'C' and the 'G'.

[21] 'The Jubilee Service at the Berkeley Street Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 January 1892.

[22] 'Reopening of the West London Synagogue of British Jews', *Morning Chronicle*, 27 September 1859.

not only signing his name in full at the end of the correspondence but also attesting to his status as the only Dr Verrinder to hold a Lambeth Degree (which he received in 1873):

> SIR, - Some time ago the late organist of Montreal Cathedral sent over to tell me that a professor of music lately arrived from London was personating [sic.] me in Canada. I contented myself then with simply giving him permission to contradict the report current there as well as here, that I had left England to take upon myself the duties of his office by the invitation of those in authority. But now comes a letter from an agent on the other side of the Atlantic who "is requested to make certain enquiries respecting a gentleman who is borrowing my name and reputation," for the purpose of advancing his professional interests in the Dominion. May I be permitted to inform my friends both here and in Canada? – 1st. There is only one Dr. Verrinder. 2nd. No one of that name in this country has had conferred upon him, or is authorised to bear the title of Mus. Doc. 3rd. I have not left, and do not intend leaving my native land. 4th, and lastly. The appointments I hold are not likely to be vacant, as far as I know.
>
> Your faithful servant,
>
> CHARLES GARLAND VERRINDER.[23]

Unfortunately, this letter did not appear to perturb the imposter; in June 1882, a correspondent from the *Musical Standard* reported a concert in Toronto where the 'London (Ontario) Philharmonic Concert' were 'under the direction of Mr. Verrinder'.[24]

These instances of mistaken (and stolen) identity, while clearly inciting intense irritation, did little damage to Verrinder's reputation at the time. More interesting are the assumptions made regarding Verrinder's background based on his distinctive surname, which have had considerably more impact on the history of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish choral tradition. Relatively uncommon, the name 'Verrinder' appears to be most popular in Gloucestershire and Cambridgeshire. Sure enough, Verrinder's own family had been established in Gloucestershire since the 1700s, therefore making the move to Salisbury, and Charles, Edgar, and Thomas' subsequent resettling in London prominent events in the family timeline.[25] Subsequent academic writing on Verrinder, however, confuses these origins in

[23] 'The truth of it', *Musical World*, 15 January 1881 (upper case and italics as printed). Also printed under the title 'Personal Explanation' in the *Musical Standard* on the same date.

[24] 'Music in Canada', *Musical Standard*, 24 June 1882.

[25] A potential prior move away from Gloucestershire is noted on Edgar Verrinder's baptism record, which states that Charles Senior was 'residing in London' while Elizabeth was living in Sydney, Gloucestershire; no further information is known.

various ways. Alexander Knapp has referred to Verrinder's 'German background', a detail which stemmed (according to a personal conversation) from the Germanic sound of the name, a fact many others have identified and – incorrectly – assumed.[26] Furthermore, Verrinder's arrival at the West London Synagogue caused some concern regarding his religious leanings, possibly due in part to his unusual surname. Today, Verrinder's compositions and arrangements (where they are credited to him at all) have been absorbed into published collections of choral works to be sung in synagogues where, were his true identity as an Anglican from Gloucestershire to be revealed, his assumed place among the Jewish composers of Austro-German background (including Lewandowski, Sulzer and Mombach) might raise questions. In this light, even the *Morning Chronicle*'s exoticising of Verrinder's surname to 'Verrindio' was not far removed from the assumptions made by many regarding the composer's background (albeit with Latinate rather than Germanic leanings, in line perhaps with the large number of those at the West London Synagogue with Spanish and Portuguese surnames).[27]

In summary: Verrinder's name, while of little national significance on his appointment to the West London Synagogue, soon became one associated with a family dedicated to their heritage, work, and community. Furthermore, despite uncertainties surrounding Verrinder's place of origin which have pervaded writing ever since, his earliest experiences as the son of a Verger at Salisbury Cathedral were critical to his subsequent musical training, without which his employment at the West London Synagogue may never have come to fruition.

From Salisbury to the Synagogue

The circumstances under which Verrinder began his musical training, traceable predominantly through anecdotal accounts, make sense of his future career as an organist and choirmaster in what became one of London's most auspicious synagogues. Through his early experiences as a chorister at Salisbury, Verrinder witnessed the attempts to bring Anglicanism to order through greater worship structure, the adoption of High Church practices and the dispersion of liberalism and evangelism. Little documentation exists about the years during which Verrinder and his brother Thomas were choristers, between 1843 and 1848, and from 1855, respectively; however, numerous sources indicate that cathedral music was in a state of severe disarray in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Financial recklessness had led to apathy and neglectful attitudes towards the choristers, causing cathedral schools across the country to '[sink] to such an abyss of neglect that [they] had almost ceased to exist'.[28] From 1811, a programme of reform was commenced by Maria Hackett (later nicknamed 'the Choristers'

[26] Alexander Knapp, 'The Influence of German Music on United Kingdom Synagogue Practice', *Jewish Historical Studies* 35 (1996): 167-197.

[27] 'Reopening of the West London Synagogue of British Jews', *Morning Chronicle*, 27 September 1859.

[28] Dora H. Robertson, *Sarum Close: A History of the Life and Education of the Cathedral Choristers for 700 years* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1938), 258.

friend'), whose 'life's work' was the investigation and improvement of 'the condition of the Choristers in every Cathedral and Collegiate Church in England'.[29] Hackett started her evaluation ambitiously, challenging the Bishop of London about standards at St Paul's Cathedral.[30] Her meticulously gathered details included the number of choristers in each cathedral choir, salaries, and choral and educational standards (where information was provided by the institutions).[31] While her efforts apparently 'did not bear fruit in Salisbury until 1847', her report on the Cathedral published in 1827 stated that it 'has been long celebrated for the excellence of its Choral Service'.[32] She later remarked on the encouraging standards which continued to be upheld at the Cathedral:

> [t]he Choristers of Salisbury still enjoy advantages superior to the generality of their brethren. They are educated in the Collegiate School, and are treated with liberality. The boys are characterized as being remarkable for their musical proficiency and correct deportment, and the patronage of the Chapter has usually been extended to promote their future respectability in life.[33]

It was reported that Salisbury's organist and choirmaster, Arthur Corfe, served the choristers well during Verrinder's time at the Cathedral; however, the academic training under a Mr Biddlecombe was far from rigorous. In 1847, a replacement tutor was employed by the new Canon, Walter Kerr Hamilton, hence the notion that Hackett's work only 'bore fruit' after this date.[34] In addition to resolving slipping standards and introducing educational reform, Hamilton aimed to assist the choristers and lay-vicars in 'replacing the perfunctory and irreverent spirit which is too common in cathedral choirs, by a sincere and earnest devotion'.[35]

Now in his final year, Verrinder likely witnessed improvements brought in by Hamilton. However, his earliest musical and academic training can be accredited primarily to Arthur Corfe (who remained in post well beyond Verrinder's time at the Cathedral) and to Maria Hackett. Verrinder's

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[29] Erik Routley and Lionel Dakers, *A Short History of English Church Music*, revised edition (London: Mowbray, 1997), 62; Robertson, *Sarum Close*, 260.

[30] Robertson, *Sarum Close*, 259.

[31] Maria Hackett's story was aired in a BBC Radio 4 documentary, *The Scourge of St Paul's*, in October 2006. A subsequent review in the *Church Times* reinforced the profound impact of her work upon choral standards and the education of choristers, particularly within a male-dominated environment. See 'In A Man's World', *Church Times* (accessed 12 March 2019) https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2005/10-june/news/uk/in-a-man-s-world.

[32] Robertson, *Sarum Close*, 261; Maria Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Schools; with an Abstract of their Statutes and Endowments. Respectfully addressed to the Dignitaries of the Established Church* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1827), 48.

[33] Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Schools*, 51.

[34] Robertson, *Sarum Close*, 283-284. See also E. E. Dorling, *Register of Old Choristers of Salisbury Cathedral, 1810-1897* (London: Alexander & Shepheard, 1898), xv, for chronological details regarding the Schoolmasters.

[35] H. P Liddon, *Walter Kerr Hamilton; Bishop of Salisbury. A Sketch Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from "The Guardian"* (London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1869), 23.

knowledge of Hackett's contribution to choir-school reforms is not clear, yet the relevance of this background is evident in his subsequent employment at the West London Synagogue. Supplied with excellent training in choral singing and music theory, an understanding of the use of music in religious services, and first-hand experience of religious and musical reform (through Hackett's endeavours and through the web of change spreading from the Oxford Movement), Verrinder's application would have demonstrated many of the assets required for the first organist of the first 'reform' synagogue – in short, he was a high-quality musician with quintessentially British training and a sensitivity to challenges posed by religious developments.[36]

Verrinder's earliest musical training appeared to leave a lasting impression on him; his only words on the subject, written over forty years later, stated that he 'had been launched upon the sea of life at eight years of age', the implication being that his arrival at Salisbury and the 'usual cuffs from senior boys, canings from masters, etc.' represented a sudden shift from innocence to the reality of life's hierarchies and harshness.[37] Despite what read today like traumatic early musical memories, Verrinder's fondness for the Cathedral is evident through his attendance at the 1893 and 1894 Old Choristers' Festivals.[38] 'Dr. Verrinder' or 'Dr. V.', as he is referred to by his contemporary Clifford Holgate, spoke publicly on both occasions. Verrinder almost certainly responded personally to E. E. Dorling's 1896 choristers' circular which requested 'various particulars as to themselves and their occupations'.[39] His entry in Dorling's *Register of Old Choristers* is substantial, with detailed references to his education, places of work and musical publications; indeed, this document presents as clear an outline of Verrinder's life and career as I have found, including reference to an edited copy of a '"Hebrew Psalter", pointed for Anglican Chants', also mentioned briefly in the West London Synagogue archives and music collections, but which seems no longer to exist.[40]

Hackett's report on the Cathedral School stated that the choristers were routinely supported in their endeavours beyond their time at Salisbury, through extended patronage and/or through a sum of money towards an apprenticeship.[41] While Verrinder was only a chorister for a comparatively short

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[36] Steward J. Brown, Peter Nockles, and James Pereiro, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[37] Lady Mary (Savory) Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences of George J. Elvey, KNT. Mus. Doc. Oxon. ETC. Late Organist to H. M. Queen Victoria, and Forty-Seven years Organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, Limited, 1894), 90.

[38] Peter L. Smith, ed., *In the Shadow of Salisbury Spire: Recollections of Salisbury Cathedral Choristers and their School, 1826-1950* (East Knoyle: Hobnob Press, 2011), 106-108.

[39] Dorling, *Register of Old Choristers*, viii.

[40] Dorling, *Register of Old Choristers*, 5. Interestingly, Thomas Verrinder's entry is far less detailed – other than stating that he was the 'brother of C. G. Verrinder' and arrived in 1855, the only information given is his position as 'Librarian of the Grosvenor Gallery'. This suggests not only that the younger Verrinder was less interested in reconnecting with his chorister days, but also perhaps that Verrinder himself had contributed his brother's details.

[41] Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Schools*, 51 (in 1818, the apprenticeship fee was thirty shillings); Smith, *In the Shadow of Salisbury Spire*, xxvi.

time, he nonetheless appears to have been apprenticed to George Elvey in 1848, where he received training on the organ. A number of Verrinder's near contemporaries at Salisbury also continued to have careers as organists; however, Corfe was refused access to the Cathedral organ for use during lessons without specific approval from 'the Dean and Chapter', suggesting that his facilities to train choristers on the instrument were limited.[42] Many articled musicians of the period were apprenticed to church and cathedral organists out of choral scholarships, sometimes with little prior knowledge of instrumental performance, composition or musical direction.[43]

Again, little is known regarding Verrinder's apprenticeship. Snippets of his time with Elvey are included in the Royal Organist's biography, written by his fourth wife. This volume, while exuberant in its praise for Elvey's career, nonetheless is useful for drawing parallels between the pathways of master and pupil, and analysing Verrinder's musical and career opportunities. Furthermore, Verrinder is credited in the Preface alongside Elvey's 'favourite niece, Miss Evelyn M. Savory' as one of two major contributors.[44] By 1848, Elvey had been the organist and choirmaster at St George's Chapel in Windsor for over a decade. Aged nineteen, he beat a number of other more eminent musicians to the post, including Samuel Wesley.[45] Hackett's entry on Windsor does not give any particular sense of disrepute; however, Elvey found the chapel choir to be unsatisfactory on his arrival, and dedicated himself to improving choral standards and decorum.[46] Prior to his appointment, Elvey was a chorister at Canterbury Cathedral and subsequently lived with his elder brother, Stephen, who was the organist at New College, Oxford, where Elvey himself became an accomplished organist and played during College services, as well as at Magdalen and Christ Church.[47]

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[42] Robertson, *Sarum Close*, 262.

[43] Frederick David Lang provides a thorough description of the various training opportunities, professional appointments and public commitments of Anglican organists of the period, including a chapter on 'The Articled Pupil System'. See 'The Anglican Organist in Victorian and Edwardian England (c. 1800 – c. 1910)' (PhD diss., University of Hull, 2004). Verrinder's name is mentioned in this work as an example of one of a handful of musicians who received a Lambeth Degree during the nineteenth century.

[44] Lang notes the 'special nature' which often existed between master and apprentice, usually a result of the close proximity with which they both trained and resided. See 'The Anglican Organist', 106. Verrinder was an instrumental member of a committee which raised funds for Elvey's portrait to be painted shortly following his retirement (*Lute*, 15 March 1883); on his (second) candidacy for the position of Principal of the Guildhall School of Music, Verrinder was described as 'a favourite pupil' of Elvey (*Musical News*, 11 April 1896).

[45] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 25; also 'Sir George Job Elvey', St George's Windsor (accessed 13 March 2019) https://www.stgeorges-windsor.org/image_of_the_month/sir-george-job-elvey/.

[46] Hackett, *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Schools*, 56; Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 38.

[47] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 21. These were the 'three [Oxford] collegiate institutions with music […] which were thought well of locally, though in reality the standard of singing and discipline was poor'; see Jeremy Dibble, 'Music and Anglicanism in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume III: Partisan Anglicanism and its Global Expansion 1829-c.1914*, ed. Rowan Strong (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 394.

Like many articled pupils of the period, Verrinder began with Elvey at the age of fourteen, and probably resided with his master for at least some of his apprenticeship.[48] Verrinder's interactions with Elvey and his brother early on in his musical career seem to have had a lasting impact not only on his musical ability, but also on his attitudes towards the importance of musical education. Contributing to Elvey's obituary in the *Musical Herald* in 1894, Verrinder significantly reported that '[w]hen the Metropolitan Church and Abbey were in a cold and languishing state about the middle of the century, St George's Chapel, Windsor, possessed the finest and best trained choir in England', indicating the high-quality training and musical experience he had received as an articled pupil.[49] Following in his master's footsteps, Verrinder only used Gray & Davison to design and build the two organs he played in the Synagogue (the first at Margaret Street, the second at the much larger premises in Upper Berkeley Street), employing the renowned organ builders to ensure the highest quality instrument possible for the space available.[50] According to notices in 1873 and 1878, Verrinder also later had several of his own articled pupils, suggesting that his experience with Elvey inspired him to provide similar training.[51]

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[48] Lang, 'The Anglican Organist', 77-81. Lang describes advertisements placed by musicians seeking an apprentice, which offered benefits such as 'a fine, magnificent organ; experience in organ playing and choir training; thorough musical education […]; preparation for diplomas and university degrees; the experience of a full cathedral type of service with plainsong in a parish church setting; use of a grand piano and music library; daily choral service and careful instruction in the theory and practice of music, with a promise that the pupil's happiness would be studied.' In addition to musical training, he would receive a good general education, the promise 'that he would be treated as kindly as if he were the master's own child' and 'the comforts of home at a fashionable watering place.' Lang also makes the point that, due to the absence of a Trades Description Act, 'these promises could not always be fulfilled'. I have not been able to find an advertisement relating to Verrinder's apprenticeship. My thanks to Joanna Newland for drawing my attention to the 1851 Census, which indicates that a sixteen-year-old Charles was residing as a 'Boarder in a school master's house in New Windsor, Berkshire', suggesting that he was not exclusively resident with Elvey during his apprenticeship.

[49] 'George Job Elvey', *Musical Herald*, 1 January 1894. This article corroborates information that Verrinder's first appointment, at the Holy Trinity Church, Windsor, was part of his training; furthermore, Elvey's relationship with Verrinder is solidified by the assumption that, as organist of Windsor Parish Church, Elvey likely played the organ at Verrinder's wedding ('Marriages', *Times*, 30 October 1856).

[50] Elvey's employment of 'Messrs. Gray & Davison' is mentioned in Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 71 and 132-133. Regarding their amendments to the organ at Windsor in 1853, Lady Elvey stated that 'Dr. Verrinder says that the wonderful effect of the sound being thrown into the nave by their means was kept a profound secret, so that it might not be imitated. It is believed that this effect was quite unique, and did not exist in any other Cathedral church.' References are made to Gray & Davison's work the West London Synagogue in the *Morning Chronicle* ('Reopening of the West London Synagogue of British Jews', 27 September 1859), the *Musical World* ('Consecration of the West London Synagogue of British Jews', 24 September 1859) and – regarding the move to the premises on Upper Berkeley Street – the *Morning Post* ('The West London Synagogue', 22 September 1870). Verrinder's involvement in the design and build of the two organs is highlighted in the Synagogue's Organ Committee report (MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, November 1859), and correspondence from Verrinder to an unknown recipient (MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 19 August 1870).

[51] 'Town and Table Talk', *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 June 1873. This notice refers to Verrinder's new position as organist and choirmaster of 'the new church of St Paul, Paddington', where he was required 'with the assistance of his articled pupils' to organise a choir. A *Musical World* advertisement (26 January 1878) stated: 'Dr Verrinder's Third Articled Pupil having completed his term of study, and received an appointment, he is desirous

Personal anecdotes in Lady Elvey's volume relate stories of informal gatherings with the Elvey brothers where significant works for the organ were undertaken as duets, and discussions were held regarding the importance of emphasis in chanting liturgical text.[52] Stephen was involved in the musical developments inspired by the Tractarians at Oxford's University Church, St Mary the Virgin, although apparently his role there left a little to be desired.[53] Potentially more interesting is his attention to detail in his work on pointing the Psalms – a task undertaken by many High Church musicians to make the text better suited for choral chanting – which caused him frequently to refer to the 'original Hebrew'.[54] While Verrinder was not yet part of the Jewish world at this point (around 1853), his involvement with the Elveys' discussions of liturgy may have exposed him to elements of the Hebrew language – and its significance to both the Jewish and Christian faiths. In fact, this information perhaps goes some way to unearthing the reasons behind Verrinder's particular interest in editing a 'Hebrew Psalter pointed for Anglican Chants', the mysterious volume mentioned in the Salisbury registers. The nineteenth-century popularity for publishing psalters using Anglican chant (or, in particularly strict Tractarian churches – such as All Saints in Margaret Street – Gregorian chant), might also explain why Verrinder's corpus of work includes such a volume.

Mirroring Verrinder's obvious respect for his tutor is evidence that the Elvey family found a kindred spirit in Verrinder. Despite an early spat between Verrinder and Elvey's son, Elvey later entrusted his pupil with George Junior's musical training.[55] The two then both attended New College, Oxford, following in the Elvey brothers' footsteps, although Verrinder was only in residence a number

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of Preparing [sic.] another young gentleman for his profession as an Organist and Choirmaster'. The recently appointed pupil, and Verrinder's only pupil mentioned by name in the national press (*Musical Standard* and *Musical World*, 15 August 1874), was Charles Pearce, a successful organist and composer who later became involved with Trinity College of Music and Guildhall School of Music ('Dr Charles W. Pearce', *Musical Journal*, August 1909). See also *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Robert Evans and Maggie Humphreys (London: Mansell, 1997), 260. It is not clear whether Verrinder's apprentices received any education in the musical practices of the West London Synagogue as well as in church music practice.

[52] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 139-140. Verrinder reports an occasion where Stephen Elvey stopped him in the street to ask him 'what is a manpeace?', referring to a line of scripture where incorrect emphasis through chant causes the two words to elide into one. Elvey's Psalter was published in 1856, the year Verrinder moved from Windsor to London to take up a position at St Giles-in-the-Fields (*Life and Reminiscences*, 181). Interestingly, this same anecdote also makes reference to the fact that a young Verrinder owned the works of Walter Scott, whose Jewish character in *Ivanhoe* I have already referenced.

[53] Dibble, 'Music and Anglicanism', 394. Dibble indicates that it was only when John Stainer arrived in Oxford and took over the direction of music at Magdalen and St Mary the Virgin that the musical quality of services improved. See also L. M. Middleton and Nilanjana Banerji, 'Elvey, Stephen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (accessed 27 November 2019) https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8873.

[54] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 138.

[55] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 89-91. This anecdote recalls an occasion where a thirteen-year-old Verrinder 'soundly boxed Master George's ears' in response to continued taunting by the younger child during Verrinder's piano practice.

of days to complete and submit his Mus. Bac. composition.[56] While at Windsor, Elvey sometimes relied heavily on Verrinder to play the organ on his behalf during services, particularly during Elvey's first wife's increasing illness. Lady Elvey described how Verrinder took on all aspects of his master's role during this time, stating that '[f]requently young Verrinder played the service at the Chapel, whilst Dr. Elvey sat sobbing by his side. The former proved to him at this time a most kind and able assistant, training the choir, carrying on his correspondence, and in every way seeking to lighten his burden of care and sorrow.'[57] It would appear that Elvey was impressed by his pupil's diligence and talents as an organist, permitting Verrinder to take over the post of organist at Eton College during a three-month absence.[58] Verrinder's additional responsibilities – choir management, administration and sensitivity to his religious and personal duties – served him well in his later employment at the West London Synagogue.

Verrinder's apprenticeship with Elvey concluded with a post at Holy Trinity Church in Windsor in 1854. He shortly afterwards moved to London to take up a post at St Giles-in-the-Fields in 1856 – the first of many auspicious London appointments. Making a career out of simultaneously working in the West London Synagogue, various churches and in the concert hall, Verrinder status as the 'double man' had advantages and disadvantages. While a relative unknown prior to his appointment, his growing reputation within London's musical circles (aided by his connections with musician Charles Salaman, who founded the Musical Society of London and whom Verrinder succeeded as the Society's Secretary) allowed his work for the Synagogue to be brought to the attention of some of Victorian Britain's most reputable musicians, as I shall discuss in more detail in Chapter Four. As indicated in his own correspondence, his 'musical arrangements' were admired by 'several Cathedral organists as well as other amateur & [sic] professional musicians'.[59] If, as Todd Endelman has claimed, British Jews were concerned with notions of 'non-conformity' within reformed practices, Verrinder ensured that the West London Synagogue's musical services were on a par with those considered the epitome of Anglican best practice.[60] Experience and knowledge of the Choral Revival and Tractarian musical practices may also have had benefits for a relationship between the West London Synagogue and All Saints' Church, which was nearing completion further up Margaret Street at the time of Verrinder's appointment, and which shared the Synagogue's focus on a return to spirituality in worship. At the same time, his association with the Jewish community may have weakened his own reputation amongst his musical colleagues, many of whom harboured subtle anti-Semitic attitudes to Jews and Jewish music (as I shall

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[56] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715 – 1886: Their parentage, birthplace and year of birth, with a record of their degrees […] Later Series. S – Z.* (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891-92), 1471. Foster records Verrinder's matriculation date as 17 June 1862 and his graduation with a B.Mus. degree on 26 June of the same year.

[57] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 126.

[58] Elvey, *Life and Reminiscences*, 94 and 161.

[59] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 December 1870.

[60] See Chapter One, 50.

address in later chapters). The most significant consideration, however, must be Verrinder's reception as a 'non-Jew' within a Jewish setting; speculations concerning the faith of the West London Synagogue's new potential organist started in the Jewish press in the lead up to Verrinder's appointment in 1859, before his identity had even been made public.

'Satisfactory testimonials': Verrinder's place at the West London Synagogue

One key obstacle stood in Verrinder's way of the post at the West London Synagogue: the Organ Committee were seeking a Jewish organist. Over fifty musicians applied for the post at the Synagogue, yet of this number there were only 'one or two' Jews, neither of whom had 'satisfactory testimonials'.[61] The Committee's November 1859 report, written two months following Verrinder's appointment, documented their initial attempts to find such a musician by reaching out to the Jewish press across Europe:

> all their exertions […] have been of no avail, notwithstanding the publicity they had given this matter, by having advertisements inserted in The Times, Jewish Chronicle, Musical World, Archives Israelites of Paris, and Zeitung des Judenthums of Leipzig. […] This was a sufficient proof of the impossibility of accomplishing the object of obtaining the services of a competent Jewish Organist, and they therefore after serious consideration, determined upon the engagement of the present Organist for six months at a salary, in the first instance of £50 per annum.[62]

Within a matter of weeks, it had been suggested that Verrinder's salary rise to £80 a year, as he had given the Organ Committee 'in all respects […] reason to be highly satisfied with his talents, as much as with his exemplary conduct in the Synagogue, and the […] interest he displays in all affairs connected with his appointment. […] his knowledge of the arrangement and conduct of the Choir deserves a higher salary.' Another report from 1861 stated Verrinder's salary as £70, rising to £100 in 1863 with the addition of the role of choirmaster to his existing position as organist.[63] These figures amount to between

[61] MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, '1859 November Report of the Organ Committee'.

[62] MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, '1859 November Report of the Organ Committee'.

[63] MS 140 AJ 175 131/15, '1861 Musical Com: Estimate of Expenditure'; also 9 March 1863. This final salary was lower than the combined salaries of Verrinder and Edward Hart, who in 1861 was paid £50 for his duties as choirmaster. In 1869 Verrinder asked for another raise in salary in accordance with two cathedral posts which had become available, particularly as he claimed that 'one of which has been offered to me' (MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 22 February 1869). While this request appears to have been denied (he reiterated it the following year, stating: 'I could have hoped that the Council would have taken into consideration that with an augmented choir, a much larger organ, and greatly increased exertion and responsibility they would have spontaneously suggested a corresponding addition to my remuneration, more especially as it was intimated to me some time ago that upon removing from Margaret St to the larger building, the salaries of the choir, as well as my own, would be re

£4,000 and £6,500 today, and seem to be in line with a low to average annual wage for a skilled worker for the period, although it is worth bearing in mind that Verrinder also held church posts alongside his role at the Synagogue.[64] Despite the more conservative rise in salary than had initially been anticipated, concerns about Verrinder's faith appear to have been quickly dispelled following the realisation that his musical and devotional experience in the Anglican Church made him worthy of a permanent appointment. However, for the Anglo-Jewish community at large, Verrinder's Anglican background remained an indelible mark on his character and ability to provide authentically Jewish musical services.

Two principal sources outline attitudes towards non-Jews in the synagogue: the first, an 1845 rabbinical conference in Frankfurt am Main which debated the use of the organ in synagogue worship; the second, a series of correspondence to the *Jewish Chronicle* following the West London Synagogue's announcement that it would be incorporating organ music into its services. Interestingly, both not only discussed the arguments for and against the use of the instrument, but also whether a Jew or a non-Jew should be tasked with performing on it. Links between British (reform) synagogue practices and those across Europe, as I expressed in the previous chapter, were generally superficial and hard to confirm. That British Jews were familiar with the proceedings of a conference which had taken place in Germany some fourteen years previously is perhaps a great assumption. No British representatives were present at Frankfurt am Main, nor at any subsequent rabbinical meetings, including the 1846 Breslau conference and the 1869 synod at Leipzig.[65] This was presumably due to the unwillingness of British (lay or ordained) ministers to attend conferences which focused heavily on Reform. In fact, occasional reports in the *Jewish Chronicle* on the various rabbinical conferences in Germany and the United States across the mid-century were generally extremely critical and dismissive of the decisions made, indicating the

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adjusted' (MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 December 1870). While his salary may not have increased at his desired rate, Verrinder received regular bonuses throughout his career of between £10 and – on one occasion – £100 for his contribution to the musical life of the Synagogue, particularly in response to specific events or accomplishments. The latter was reported in the *Musical News* (23 June 1900) and the *Musical Times* (1 August 1900); other gifts of an inscribed gold watch, a gold chain (ten years later, to accompany the watch) and an ivory, gold-mounted inscribed baton were presented to Verrinder by the Synagogue and reported in national musical periodicals. See as examples the *Musical Times*, 1 September 1872 and 1 December 1897, and the *Musical World*, 9 July 1887.

[64] See the Currency Converter on the National Archives webpages (accessed 26 November 2020): https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result. Deborah Rohr indicates that by 1830, an average salary (or combined income) of close to £300 was average for 'a successful and respectable member of the [musical] profession'; see Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 157. See also Chris Cook, *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), 204-208. Cook suggests that in 1860, £70 would have been about 350 days' work for a skilled worker; £100 was about 500 days' work, and more in line with the standard wage of the period.

[65] David Philipson, Kaufmann Kohler, H. Pereira Medes, 'Rabbinical Conferences', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 24 November 2020):
http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4592-conferences-rabbinical#anchor6

ongoing antagonism between the wider Anglo-Jewish population and 'Reform' practices.[66] However, interactions between the Anglo- and German-Jewish press as outlined in the Organ Committee's report (and as found in the *Jewish Chronicle*'s weekly columns regarding international Jewish current affairs) would suggest that, on this occasion, the West London Synagogue had recent European debates in mind when considering their new musical practices. Moreover, the West London Synagogue's decision to incorporate an organ in their worship in 1859 was preceded by half a century of similar activity in Reform synagogues across Europe, with mixed results. The use of the organ – and many of the other earliest reforms – incited severe disagreements within the German-Jewish community in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Tina Frühauf outlines the main points of contention as they were debated by twenty-two rabbis across Europe. This followed the 1817 foundation of the *Neuer Israelitischer Tempelvere* in Hamburg, the first public synagogue to incorporate choral singing with organ accompaniment; Frühauf concludes that it was probably no coincidence that, in light of the objections raised, no further congregations opted to incorporate an organ into their worship for three decades. The main points of concern were that:

- organs (and other musical instruments) might need repairing on a Sabbath in order to be played, which could not be permitted due to Sabbath laws outlining what constitutes work on the Day of Rest;
- music in the synagogue was prohibited following the destruction of the second Temple, as a sign of mourning;
- the use of the organ was interpreted as a 'Christianization' of worship, which resulted in the 'loss of Jewish tradition and identity'.[67]

The 'organ question', therefore, did not reach a conclusion until the 1840s, at which point – at the rabbinical conference of July 1845 – it was decided that the introduction of the organ was inadvisable; however, the rabbis ultimately approved its use in the synagogue on the grounds that it inspired meaningful worship and there were fundamentally no biblical prohibitions.[68] With regards to the organist, it was decided that a Jewish musician would be preferable due to their natural passion for the service. The conference appeared to draw a further distinction between what was considered work and what was carried out as a devotional duty, deciding that a Jewish organist would remain historically

[66] See, for instance, 'The American Synod considered from an English Point of View', *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 December 1869.

[67] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 31.

[68] *Protokolle und Aktenstücke der zweiten Rabbiner-Versammlung, abgehalten zu Frankfurt am Main, vom 15ten bis zum 28ten Juli 1845* (Frankfurt am Main: E. Ullmann, 1845); this account of the conference contains two sections regarding the use of the organ and whether a Jewish organist should be employed: 146-151 and Appendix VI, 327-333. See also Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 32-33.

accurate to the performance of music by Jewish instrumentalists and singers in the Temple. They had also decided that it was acceptable for a Jewish organist to play on the grounds that a trained performer was unlikely to be skilled in fixing the instrument, and in public services there would be enough people around to ensure that the organist would not attempt any repairs.[69] As such, any repairs required on the Sabbath would presumably have to be undertaken by a non-Jew. Regarding the practical concerns, Verrinder's background was likely, therefore, to be an advantage. However, I have not found information regarding Verrinder's ability or readiness to attempt repairs on the instrument himself, although his contribution to the design of the organs at Margaret Street and Upper Berkeley Street respectively (as well as a number of comments at music society events) indicate his working knowledge of organ construction and advantages for sound quality. That said, it is unlikely that he would have attempted any form of repair on the Sabbath, and Musical Committee reports indicate the services of Gray & Davison for regular organ tuning.

Interestingly, early correspondence regarding another crucial component for an organist – the assistance of an organ blower – shows that their services were considered menial and very much a form of 'work' forbidden on the Sabbath.[70] Letters from Edward Taylor, the organ blower in the early 1870s, indicate the level of education (and likely social background) such employees had, with numerous spelling and grammar errors – such as 'Satterday' – and general writing style suggesting that his social status was considerably different to those in the Synagogue's congregation and even within the choir.[71] Likely from a working-class, non-Jewish household, Taylor's situation was only different from Verrinder's own on the basis of Verrinder's academic and musical education. To that end, faith was less important to Verrinder's role than the opportunities which had allowed him the considerable musical training required for the position of organist. For those concerned by the West London Synagogue's decision to incorporate an organ into its services, however, Verrinder's musical experience did not make up for an ingrained understanding of Jewish worship.

Overall, commentary featured in the *Jewish Chronicle* on the subject of the organ was overwhelmingly positive.[72] A series of reports and correspondences opened with an outline (with

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[69] *Protokolle und Aktenstücke*, 331-332.

[70] The 1859 Organ Committee report suggests that the role of organ blower would only be a temporary position paid at one shilling per service, to be superseded by a 'hydraulic engine' constructed by organ builders Gray & Davison at a cost of under £30. It would appear, however, that this never came to fruition and organ blowers continued to be employed even during the early years at Upper Berkeley Street.

[71] MS 140 AJ 59 2/3, 8 June 1871. Based on the evidence, Edward Taylor was probably a teenaged boy. His second correspondence in the archives indicate that his requested raise from one shilling per service to 1*s* 6*d* was agreed by the wardens, although some of his other requirements (payments made monthly, with a month's notice period) do not appear to have been taken into consideration.

[72] Interestingly, a comment in the *Jewish Chronicle* issue of 17 October 1873 indicates the more likely Orthodox response to the use of the organ than was found in the 1859 editions of the newspaper: 'The ladies and gentlemen, and the organ of West London Synagogue were, as usual, very melodious; but we still, being very old fashioned, adhere to the notion that prayers should be prayed by a congregation of men and boys, but not too prominently by

occasional inconsistencies) of the proceedings of a meeting at the West London Synagogue in January 1859, at which 'the propriety of an organ being introduced in the synagogue was fully discussed, both ministers were heard on the question, who, on Scriptural grounds, advocated the step.'[73] A number of responses referred to the organ's adoption in other synagogues across Europe, as approved by 'intelligent rabbins' with 'no opposition, except that arising from unauthoritative individual impressions […] offered to the introduction of organs'.[74] What is particularly striking about this correspondence is that it didn't raise questions either regarding the use of instrumental music on the Sabbath, or the centrality of the organ to church practice. In fact, none of the opinions in the *Jewish Chronicle* approached the issue of the organ as a so-called 'Christian' instrument, preferring instead to focus on its merits for worship on a wider scale. This is in quite stark contrast to the concerns which arose in the rabbinical conferences in Germany, where approval to use the organ in the synagogue was agreed on condition that it was carefully monitored to avoid the 'heathenish' deployment of an instrument which was a 'foreign element in the Jewish liturgy'.[75] This discussion did not suggest that Christianity contained 'heathenish' elements, but concluded that it was acceptable for Jews to imitate certain aspects of other faiths provided this did not break any fundamental Jewish laws.

To that end, the 'scriptural grounds' cited by the West London Synagogue's ministers perhaps pre-empted concerns that the organ had no place in Jewish worship. Following subsequent letters to the newspaper requesting specific details, the Synagogue's second minister, Albert Löwy, responded with a description of the *magrepha* which is not without its challenges, defining it as a pipe instrument described in the Talmud considered by many to be equivalent – in power, if not in sound – to the modern organ.[76] A similar description was later outlined in the Synagogue's re-opening ceremony during David Woolf Marks' sermon. Then, as now, other definitions of the *magrepha* were understood, but not widely explored at the time; Mark Kligman refers to the more likely interpretation of a 'large rake used for clearing the [sacrificial] ashes', which was 'thrown forcefully to the ground to summon other priests and Levites into the Temple'.[77] Descriptions of a wind instrument along the lines of those employed by Löwy and Marks have been interpreted from later rabbinical sources, which more recent studies suggest could have been 'a literary creation rather than an actually observed artefact.'[78] Löwy's correspondence,

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ladies; and that the most magnificent organ is, as Mendelssohn Bartholdy believed, an impediment to sacred music. Certainly it is not (even though constructed by such admirable builders as Hunt [sic.] and Davison, or played by such an admirable musician as Dr. Verrinder) a possible member of a Jewish congregation.' A similarly snide compliment featured in a review of the Day of Atonement services the following year, where it was stated that 'Dr. Verrinder was excellent on the organ, and gave gratification to all worshippers who approve of the introduction of a musical instrument in the service' (*Jewish Chronicle*, 25 September 1874).

[73] 'Margaret Street Synagogue – Introduction of an Organ', *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 January 1859.

[74] 'Proposed Introduction of an Organ in the West London Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 January 1859.

[75] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 33.

[76] 'The Organ in the Temple', *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1859.

[77] Kligman, 'Jewish Liturgical Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 87.

[78] James W. McKinnon, 'Magrepha', Oxford Music Online (accessed 26 November 2020):

however, replied directly to a letter from 'A Member of the Orthodox Congregation', whose approach to the use of the organ in worship is a fascinating insight into more positive relationships between the West London Synagogue's ideologies and the opinions of some Orthodox congregants:

> […] It having been stated in your last number, by a correspondent, "That the Talmud gives an account of an instrument, used in the second Temple, which in construction resembled, and in power surpassed, the organ," I think it would be highly interesting, and very important to our community, if the passages of the Talmud alluded to were pointed out. Such *ancient* rabbinical authority, founded on Scripture, would remove existing doubts, and our brethren would at once be reconciled to the introduction of an organ in the synagogue; more so when it is considered that that instrument inspires devotion, and consequently decorum in public worship. […][79]

Despite the generally encouraging response to the West London Synagogue's decision, one individual remained of the opinion that a non-Jewish organist would be a 'foreign element' to Jewish services, even if the instrument itself could be justified through Scripture.[80] In fact, this was the only negative review to be printed, in the newspaper's gossip column, under the standard editorial caveat that 'We deem it right to state that we do not identify ourselves with our correspondent's opinions'.[81] The tone of the piece was dismissive throughout, of synagogue reform, of the West London Synagogue's attempts to imitate more orthodox institutions on the continent, and of non-Jews. Rather than being too critical of the West London Synagogue's decision (albeit through a thinly disguised comment that '[o]f all the reforms adopted by the Margaret-street congregation the introduction of an organ into the synagogue appears to me the least objectionable'), the writer instead turned on the suggestion that the organist might be a 'co-religionist'. It is unclear where this information came from, other than to presume that, as the article's title suggests, it was part of the rumour mill. The writer's view was that a Jewish organist would be the 'only real innovation' in comparison with other European synagogues where non-Jews were employed – in fact, they seemed to have the impression that a Jewish organist had already been appointed. Again, the origins of this information are unknown; perhaps the writer had concluded that it was likely to be Charles Salaman or otherwise Sir John Simon – another member of the West London Synagogue's upper-class membership (and Salaman's brother-in-law) and

https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050036.

[79] 'Instrumental Music in the Second Temple', *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 February 1859.

[80] Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 33.

[81] 'Our Communal Weekly Gossip', *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 March 1859.

'an excellent organist' – both of whom were ultimately responsible for appointing Verrinder.[82] While Salaman himself was primarily a pianist and composer, who committed significant time to the musical soundscape of the West London Synagogue prior to Verrinder's arrival, both he and Simon (the second Jew in Britain to be called to the Bar) were unlikely candidates for the role, being members of the Anglo-Jewish elite whose musicianship was not something with which to make a living – although Salaman's compositions were regularly published across the latter half of the century.

Whether the *Jewish Chronicle*'s opinion piece was based in fact or hypothesis, its vitriol towards reform practices is evident; while conceding to the apparent 'common sense' of employing a Jewish organist, it expressed particularly unkind attitudes towards non-Jewish musicians:

> I am incapable of arguing the question from a theological point of view. It may be rabbinically wrong for a Jew to play the organ on the Sabbath, even for devotional purposes. But I cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the common sense view of the question is, that if it is deemed at all desirable to make use of this instrument for assisting the rise and elevation of devotional feelings in public worship, it is not a mere hireling, who would just as life, for a proper consideration, perform in a mosque or a pagoda as a synagogue, that should be employed, but a brother in faith, who shares in the feelings which he endeavours to inspire.[83]

Two interlocking assumptions are evident in this letter: first, that a Jewish musician would naturally be able to inspire devotion in synagogue services where someone from outside of the faith would not; second, that such a Jewish musician (particularly if the correspondent had individuals such as Salaman and Simon in mind) would be of a higher social standing than their non-Jewish counterpart, and thus be unconcerned with financial return for their performance. Given the West London Synagogue's ultimate struggle to find a suitably qualified Jewish organist, this correspondence perhaps also indicates at an arrogant notion that a Jewish musician would not require the assistance of, or training from, someone better-versed in organ accompaniment – whose experience would most likely be based in church music practice.

It is perhaps worth stressing here that Verrinder was not the first synagogue organist in Britain.[84] The relative hype gathered in the *Jewish Chronicle* in the lead-up to the installation of the organ at the West London Synagogue might appear to suggest that such a phenomenon had not yet been witnessed by Anglo-Jewish audiences. Not only had an organ been part of the Manchester Congregation of British

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[82] 'Obituary', *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 July 1904. John Simon was a keen musician and organist and instrumental in appointing Verrinder, a fact corroborated in Simon's own five-page obituary in the 2 July 1897 issue of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

[83] 'Our Communal Weekly Gossip', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[84] See Chapter One, footnote 49.

Jews since its first service in 1858, one year before Verrinder's appointment, but the *Jewish Chronicle* had also mentioned it in their overview of the foundation service.[85] Perhaps more surprising is the lack of response to 'An Orthodox Reformer' who, in February 1857, shortly after the Manchester Synagogue had been established, expressed their 'pleasure' that

> arrangements are made for the introduction of an organ, which, accompaning [sic.] our ancient and time-honoured sacred melodies, will be a great addition to our devotional services, and acceptable to our improved and advancing state. […] the introduction of an organ proves the desire of the wardens and treasurers […] to promote such improvements as the spirit of our times requires.[86]

No follow-up correspondence to this observation came to light in subsequent issues; in fact, any mention of the organ in the interim year largely referred (generally without comment) to synagogues abroad which had selected to include organ accompaniment in their services. One small article described a debate in Baden in which three rabbis expressed different opinions regarding the use of the organ and the faith of the organist, after which it was decided that an organ could be installed in the synagogue but that it should not be played by a 'co-religionist'.[87] Another striking piece about progress at the Jews' Infant School indicated that an organ was deployed to accompany school singing, suggesting that the instrument was already a feature of Jewish musical life in Britain.[88]

The lack of concern regarding the inclusion of the instrument at Manchester's new Reform Synagogue (the second in the country), in addition to the apparent communal forgetfulness which prevented its mention in the organ debates surrounding the West London Synagogue, is indicative of the London-centric nature of the Anglo-Jewish community, whose residents in the capital comprised approximately two-thirds of the entire Anglo-Jewish population.[89] The 'provinces', as they were often called, rarely featured in national stories, although Manchester was subject to considerable attention prior to the foundation of the Congregation of British Jews, due to the resulting rift among the original

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[85] 'Manchester Congregation of British Jews', *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 April 1858. The report stated that 'the interest was considerably heightened by the admirable performance of an organ (which is to be a permanent feature of the synagogue), and by the vocal aid kindly afforded by some forty or more ladies and gentlemen, members of the synagogue, who had formed themselves into a most efficient choir'.

[86] 'The Manchester Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 February 1857.

[87] 'The Organ Question in the Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 July 1857.

[88] 'Jews Infant School', *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 March 1857.

[89] V. D. Lipman states the number of Jews in Britain as 'about 35,000 Jews' by 1850, of which 18,000 to 20,000 lived in London. Israel Finestein's figures roughly conform to Lipman's, indicating that 'nearly two-thirds' of British Jews lived in London. See Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950* (London: Watts & Co., 1954), 5-7; and Finestein, *Jewish Society in Victorian England* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993), 131-132.

Manchester Hebrew Congregation.[90] Even in this context, though, a considerable part of the disagreement revolved around the power of Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler, whose role encompassed Jewish litigation across the country and who was based (and principally supported by committees) in London. Despite claiming that they were a branch of the West London Synagogue, and despite their name, the Manchester Congregation of British Jews had a more significantly Ashkenazi community, and took more inspiration from the German model of reform (complete with instrumental music as a given) than the West London Synagogue, whose community remained largely of Sephardi origin. In fact, Manchester's Reform community – like the immigrant community of Manchester itself – comprised largely German, middle-class families who had moved to the city throughout the early-nineteenth century.[91] This no doubt had an impact on the music performed at the Synagogue, although certain similarities between Manchester and the West London Synagogue can be identified from press coverage at the former's opening. Strikingly, very little musical detail can be found in the write-up of the event by the *Jewish Chronicle*, whose piece appeared two whole weeks after reports featured in local newspapers. Furthermore, the discussion of Manchester's music was rarely discussed in later issues of the *Jewish Chronicle*, nor was any information provided about the Synagogue's first organist, a 'Mr Shepley'.[92]

The Manchester service apparently opened with an organ rendition of the overture to *Samson*, with choral performances (presumably with organ accompaniment) of 'the 42nd Psalm to the fine and well-known music of Mendelssohn' and '"[t]he glorious work" (Haydn)'.[93] It can be assumed that the latter was performed in English; however, it is unclear whether the Mendelssohn was his own setting of Psalm 42, if it was sung in Hebrew, English or German, or if it was another Mendelssohn piece set to the text of Psalm 42. The latter was also common in other synagogues, with choirs performing Hebrew text to the music of famous composers – Mendelssohn in particular. The West London Synagogue's published music collection includes settings to 'a chorus by Mendelssohn' as well as excerpts from *Elijah* and *Lobgesang*.[94] Shepley's use of an introductory voluntary was another tradition adopted by Verrinder at the start and close of the West London Synagogue services. These were often organ arrangements of well-known pieces, sometimes reflecting the sentiments of the service or with

[90] Issues of the *Jewish Chronicle* across 1856 and 1857 include articles, correspondence and advertisements attempting to resolve, appease or criticise the differing viewpoints between the Orthodox congregation and the 'Reformers'.

[91] For details of the German population of Manchester, see Jonathan Westaway, 'The German Community in Manchester, Middle-Class Culture and the Development of Mountaineering in Britain, c. 1850-1914', *The English Historical Review* 124/508 (2009): 571-604.

[92] Shepley's name is not mentioned in the *Jewish Chronicle*, but features in articles about the Synagogue's opening in local newspapers. See the *Manchester Guardian*, 26 March 1858 and the *Manchester Times*, 27 March 1858.

[93] *Manchester Times*, 27 March 1858.

[94] C. K. Salaman, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, Volume 1*, ed. C. G. Verrinder (London: Addison & Co., 1861), 13 and 50. The *Lobgesang* and *Elijah* arrangements are in Volumes 3 and 4 respectively (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., c.1891 and 1892-97), 48 and 109.

reference to a state or congregational occasion (such as Verrinder's performance of Mendelssohn's 'O Rest in the Lord', also from *Elijah*, at the service immediately following the death of Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler).[95] Already a tradition in the church, the introduction of the organ voluntary in the two Reform Synagogues represented a direct analogy between Anglican and Jewish musical practice, bringing an immediate air of reflection and structure to synagogue services popular among British individuals. The rest of the service adhered to a similarly anglicised choral style, which nonetheless remained in keeping with the musical and religious ideologies of the West London Synagogue.

Aside from the one letter which criticised anything seemingly reform or non-Jewish, it seems unusual that, with nearly two thousand subscribed readers nationwide, such a small – and positive – pool of correspondence was sent to the *Jewish Chronicle* in the aftermath of the West London Synagogue's decision. The paper's editor, Abraham Benisch, was indeed supportive of the move towards reform, having been acquainted with Albert Löwy since the 1840s in Vienna and, upon arriving in Britain and taking over the newspaper, working hard to promote liberalism to the Jewish community and with a view to rebuilding the reputation of the West London Synagogue.[96] It is possible therefore that Benisch hand-picked the most complimentary correspondence to print in his paper, regardless of the more popular opinion on the topic. I have found no documentation indicating Orthodox opposition to the installation of the organ at the West London Synagogue, nor any examples of rabbinical or theological conferences in Britain debating the 'organ question', probably due to the limited number of ordained rabbis practising in Britain.[97] In fact, I have unearthed only one series of correspondence in the *Jewish Chronicle* titled 'The Organ Question', which pertains to an 1895 discussion surrounding the Hampstead Synagogue's decision to incorporate an organ and mixed choir in its regular services.[98] As an Orthodox synagogue, this decision disobeyed the specific instructions of the Chief Rabbi, and inspired heated debate both in favour and against. Perhaps most interestingly, the debate did not appear to focus on the details of the Chief Rabbi's objections (that instrumental music in regular services would break the Sabbath laws), but instead revived discussions regarding progressive practices and their place in contemporary Orthodox Anglo-Jewish worship. Over half a century after the foundation of the West London Synagogue, it is clear that 'reform' was still considered by some to be detrimental and therefore

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[95] *Jewish Chronicle*, 31 January 1890.

[96] David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 32-34.

[97] Stephen Singer's article on rabbinic authority in Victorian Britain indicates that Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler's hold on the British rabbinate during this period veered towards the dictatorial, refusing to allow other ordained ministers to hold the position of Rabbi in other synagogues in order that 'no rival could emerge to challenge his authority within the community'. Instead, ordained Jews took up positions as *chazanim*, whose responsibility now extended beyond simply chanting liturgical text to regular preaching and pastoral duties, in response to an increased desire for Jewish ministers to conform to Anglican styles of clergy practice. See Singer, 'The Anglo-Jewish Ministry in Early Victorian London', *Modern Judaism* 5/3 (1985): 279-299.

[98] 'The Organ Question', *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 May 1895. Debates continued under this title or variations upon it ('A Protest from Hampstead', 10 June 1895; '"Fair Play" at Hampstead', 14 June 1895) for over a month.

separate to (and not welcome in) Orthodox Judaism. To that end, perhaps the reason behind the apparently positive response to the West London Synagogue's adoption of the organ, and its choice of organist, was principally that many Orthodox Jews – who might have otherwise opposed this motion – distanced themselves from the activities of the Synagogue to the extent that its decisions were of little religious or social value to the Anglo-Jewish community at large. What the positive support in the *Jewish Chronicle* does show, however, is that the West London Synagogue's decision was inspired by, and inspired, discussions of religious devotion among both Orthodox and Reform individuals. Based in biblical history but reliant on contemporary worship practice, the use of the organ to create a new Anglo-Jewish soundscape was dependent on Verrinder's experience in the Anglican Church.

'Elevating our spirits': Verrinder's organ writing[99]

Verrinder's performance and compositional style at the West London Synagogue can be inferred from the *Jewish Chronicle*. His playing was praised for its 'skill and precision' and frequently described as 'admirable', his compositions considered 'beautiful' and his directorship of the choir (from the organ) produced 'exquisitely rendered' performances.[100] These testimonials to his talent, however, perhaps divulge more than the correspondents intend with regard to Verrinder's tactful use of the organ within a synagogue setting. Despite the *Jewish Chronicle*'s occasional backhanded comments regarding the suitability of instrumental music in Jewish worship, the overall positive response to Verrinder's control of the organ and choir at the West London Synagogue indicates that his approach satisfied the Anglo-Jewish community's sensitivities as critics of both Jewish and British musical style. At the Synagogue, Verrinder put into practice his training at Windsor, his Anglican musical style evident in his arrangement of ancient melodies and more recent compositions. However, his organ writing must be examined in light of assertions made by senior minister David Woolf Marks regarding the instrument's acceptable use in Jewish worship, in order to assess how music and theology united.

Interestingly, Verrinder's appointment mirrors aspects of Marks's own employment at the Synagogue in 1840. Having reached out to scholars and reform-minded rabbis in Germany in order to find the perfect minister for Britain's new Reform Synagogue, it became clear that British progressive worship was at odds with the more deliberate attempts at reform which had begun in Germany half a century previously. The West London Synagogue ultimately selected Marks, a young, relatively inexperienced and un-ordained Jewish scholar who had been assisting at Liverpool's Orthodox but

[99] Elements of this section are in Padley and Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder: London's First Synagogue Organist', *Ad Parnassum Studies* 12 (2020): 167-184, originally presented at 'Jewishness and the Arts: Music and Composers in Nineteenth-Century Europe' (Rome, 2015).

[100] 'Confirmation at Berkeley Street Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 July 1872 and 9 May 1873, and 'Town and Table Talk', *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 June 1895.

forward-thinking Synagogue in Seel Street.[101] In both Marks' and Verrinder's case, the Synagogue rejected the ideal – the hiring of an experienced individual whose Jewishness surpassed all other considerations – in order to employ someone whose training and background spoke to the Synagogue's focus on British customs for British Jews. In this regard, Marks and Verrinder, while perhaps held back by inexperience, both had the potential to introduce a new perspective to worship which nonetheless remained in keeping with Anglo-Jewish sensitivities. Had a minister or organist been appointed from Europe, these specifically national sensitivities may have been endangered.

As seen in the previous chapter, Marks' sermons frequently returned to the *Torah* and biblical history, rather than subsequent commentary or rabbinic teaching, to connect contemporary issues with Jewish heritage. These sources demonstrate his visions for the Synagogue: a return to the spirit of the Law in preference to adhering to the letter of the Law (evident particularly in his inaugural sermon of 1842); the continuous re-evaluation of worship to promote spiritual well-being and to avoid indifference to routine practices; and equality and unity between men, women, and children in worship.[102] The purpose of the published volumes of Marks' sermons was twofold: first, to allow 'home instruction'; second, and perhaps more significantly, to '[set] forth a fair exposition of the doctrines which are taught in the synagogue', correcting 'misrepresentations' of the congregation's 'opinions and practices' by members of more Orthodox communities.[103] As such, they (and the original sermons) represent Marks' most idealised and deliberately fervent expressions of the Synagogue's ideologies, meticulously supported by biblical sources, quotations, and historical details.

Regarding worship music, the most obviously relevant source is Marks' sermon preached on the occasion of the organ's inauguration, in which he made clear statements in support of the organ regarding historical precedent, liturgical instruction, and the necessity for flexibility within religious practice. This sermon, unsurprisingly, incorporated the most detail in defence of the organ in Jewish worship, addressing the three points of concern from the European Rabbinate.[104] However, these points were embedded thoroughly in a discussion of biblical precedent for instrumental (and vocal) music-making, neatly shifting the emphasis of his sermon towards questions of 'sameness' – the positivity of connections with ancient Judaism, closeness to the great Kings of Israel, Samuel and David, and a desire

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[101] Philippa Bernard, *A Beacon of Light: The History of the West London Synagogue* (London: The West London Synagogue, 2013), 11-12. It was in this Synagogue that the first sermon in English had been heard in 1822.

[102] David Woolf Marks, *Sermons preached on various occasions, at the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Series 1.* (London: R. Groombridge and Sons, 1851).

[103] Marks, *Sermons preached on various occasions 1*, iii.

[104] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ. Preached on the re-consecration of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, Margaret Street, and on the inauguration of the Organ. September 26, 1859.', in *Sermons preached on various occasions, at the West London Synagogue of British Jews, by the Rev. Professor Marks, Minister of the Congregation. Series 2.* (London: Trübner & Co., 1885), 168 – 179. Owing to the inclusion of titles and footnotes in this printed collection, I presume that the sermons were edited to some degree before publication.

for awe-inspiring worship – and away from concerns of 'otherness' – as perceived in the more recent differences between Orthodox and 'Reform' religious and musical practices.

This was the first of Marks' sermons which Verrinder heard, as the Synagogue was closed during the refurbishment period required for the installation of the organ. In light of this, the parallels between Marks' words and Verrinder's subsequent treatment of the organ and worship music, which I shall address below, are striking. Moreover, Marks' overall message regarding the progress of music from the Temple to the Synagogue was one which Verrinder appeared to take on board wholeheartedly, as demonstrated in his own lectures on the subject given throughout his lifetime (as I shall describe more fully in Chapter Four). To that end, it is worth exploring the way in which Marks expressed the Synagogue's embracing of music and musical development.

In this sermon, Marks' principal statement was that instrumental and vocal music was, at various points in Jewish history, used in abundance in worship. He claimed that, far from imitating Christian practice, instrumental music was so closely aligned with Jewish prayer that at certain points in history it 'was so positively condemned by many of the [Church] Fathers, on the sole ground that it had been an auxiliary of worship among the Jews'.[105] To prove the suitability of music in Jewish liturgy, Marks referred to the structure common to the Psalm texts, which evidence indicated were designed to be sung with instrumental accompaniment. Marks stated:

> A striking parallelism prevails throughout most of the Psalms. Each verse is divided into two hemistichs, both of which embody the self-same proposition, though the form of expression is different: and this rhythm of idea, or correspondence in sense, between the two hemistichs, produces a perfect harmony, which may be brought out in a measure by a good and tasteful reader, but can only be developed to perfection by means of the accompaniments of music and song.[106]

Marks' use of the term 'reader' here appears to relate to the role known elsewhere as the *chazan* who, in the Ashkenazi tradition, would alternate the phrases of the Psalms with the congregation; the tone of Marks' statement perhaps aimed to justify the absence of such a role within the West London Synagogue, in preference for a choir which could more readily represent a large congregation. It is unclear from this, however, whether Marks intended the 'music and song' to be delivered exclusively by organist and choir, as became the custom at the Synagogue (and which, as shall be discussed shortly, was the source of much criticism by those who felt the congregation had been 'silenced' by the quality

[105] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 176.

[106] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 171. Marks also referred to the Temple practice of performing the Psalms with two choirs, one singing the melody, the other singing a 'distich' or couplet at regular intervals. While this does not appear to be part of Jewish custom any longer, similar practices can still be found in the Anglican Church, where the congregation repeat a short refrain at various points throughout the recitation of a Psalm text.

of the musical services), or whether the 'perfection' would be achieved by the combined power of the organ, choir, and congregation. Later in his sermon, however, Marks' return to the language of the Psalms confirmed his position supporting a form of worship which drew spirituality from all possible forces, thus indicating that he believed the organ would inspire congregational devotion and song. This particular text also reinforced the irony that contemporary practice was at odds not only with ancient custom, but with the sentiments uttered during worship:

> It is difficult […] to reconcile the conflicting views of men, who proclaim on every Sabbath day that "it is a *good thing* to sing praises unto God accompanied by the strains of instrumental music," and who yet maintain it to be *sinful* to carry that object into effect.[107]

Through this statement, Marks commenced his argument for realigning Jewish heritage with contemporary thought, encouraging the Anglo-Jewish community to think of the Synagogue's reforms as a means of uniting the essence of Judaism with a practice relevant to nineteenth-century society. Moreover, his defence of vocal and instrumental unity in psalm recitation supported the West London Synagogue's newly developed commonality with the Anglican choral revival, in which the Psalm verses were chanted in two halves, homophonically and accompanied by the organ. While the Synagogue's most immediate neighbour, All Saints, adopted a mostly Gregorian style of Psalmody, it too incorporated organ accompaniment. In fact, in a parallel with Verrinder's role at the Synagogue, All Saints' first minister, Frederick Oakeley, had employed organist Richard Redhead to help him arrange the musical aspects of the Tractarian service.[108] Marks echoed the sentiments from his first sermon at the West London Synagogue in 1842, where he legitimised a focus on religious expression through modern customs by indicating the privileged (and non-mournful) circumstances of the Victorian Jewish community, which he claimed negated Talmudic notions of lamenting what had been lost. He encouraged embracing the period of relative social and political freedom, arguing that Judaism had been, and should continue to be, a fluid and ever-developing faith:

> [W]hilst the *principles* of Judaism have remained fixed and immutable since the days of Moses, the *ceremonial or external worship* has been subjected to constant modifications, according to the changes in the political and social relations in which the Jewish people have been placed. The form of worship in Solomon's Temple offered a marked contrast to that which was originally practiced in the Tabernacle of Moses. The worship in the second Temple differed in many respects from that of the first; and wider changes still

[107] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 177.

[108] Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*, 18. These early chants, published in 1840, were of Anglican rather than Gregorian style.

> occurred when the Temple was replaced by the Synagogue, and when liturgies were substituted for the sacrificial rite, which was peculiar to the holy land. With these historical evidences before us, we may fearlessly advance the proposition, that in as much as time has wrought its influence on the forms of worship, the exigencies of time may again be consulted for the purpose of bringing our ritual practices into harmony with our mental, social and political progress.[109]

Marks' ideologies were well-supported by passages in the Old Testament which describe the use of music in Jewish worship, particularly during times of relative freedom from persecution. He cited references to David's reign of 'peace and national prosperity', which followed a period of unrest, to indicate the scale to which music was central to Jewish prayer:

> [David] brought the public worship into unison with the improved social condition of the people, and introduced into the sanctuary vocal and instrumental music on a most extensive scale. He instituted twenty-four classes of musicians and singers, and placed them under the direction of two hundred and eighty-eight leaders, the most renowned of whom were Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun. Nor should it seem that the singers were of the male sex exclusively, since the three daughters of Heman are mentioned in the list of performers.[110]

Marks continued to refer to the Old Testament, citing Ezra Chapter 3 to indicate the use of instruments at the foundation and consecration of the second Temple and 'during the whole period of the existence of the holy house'.[111] His direct mention of the organ, unfortunately, lacked the specificity and conviction found in the surrounding passages: 'True no mention is made of the organ, for the all-sufficient reason that this instrument was not then known; but there can be little question that, if it had been in existence, our ancestors of the second Temple would have gladly availed themselves of it for public worship'.[112] However, he followed this with references to two Temple instruments with either the of power or similar function to the organ – the *hallil* meaning pipes or tubes, and the mythical *magrepha*, quoting the rabbinical sources which describe an instrument which had ten holes, each of which producing ten sounds; of the latter, Marks commented that 'the properties […] with respect to the transmission of sound, must have been truly marvellous'.[113]

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[109] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 178.
[110] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 172.
[111] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 174.
[112] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 174-175.
[113] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 175. Other sources provide different interpretations of the *magrepha*; Mark Kligman refers to it as a 'large rake used for clearing the [sacrificial] ashes', which was 'thrown forcefully

Marks concluded his sermon by suggesting potential guidelines for the use of the organ in Synagogue services:

> To-day [sic] we bring back to the house of God one of its ancient practices, and we inaugurate an organ for the first time in a Synagogue of this metropolis; and we devoutly pray that it may prove one of the means – for it is a means only – of elevating our spirits to the Great Almighty Father, whenever we join in praise and thanksgiving to His holy name; and that it may awaken in us sentiments of pious warmth and ardent devotion.[114]

To that end, Marks reinforced that the organ had not been introduced to dominate worship, or even to renovate it, but to support the congregation's spiritual connection to the liturgy. This was perhaps less to appease the Synagogue's own congregation who had voted unanimously 'and in acclamation' for the organ, but more to dissuade others from the notion that the West London Synagogue were moving away from the essence of Jewish practice.[115] As a result, the earliest music to be heard following the introduction of the organ was not newly composed, but existing repertoire rearranged with organ accompaniment. Many sources suggest that much of the preliminary work on this was undertaken by Salaman, which is unsurprising given that Verrinder took up his role on relatively short notice.[116] Indeed, it was also not necessarily the remit of the organist – all that Verrinder chose to do in this regard was presumably out of his own interest and commitment to the role. This is reflected in the first volume of music published by the West London Synagogue in 1861, which principally included compositions by Salaman and other Synagogue members Edward Hart (who ran the choir) and Simon Waley, with many organ arrangements and occasional compositions by Verrinder.[117] By contrast, the following volume nearly ten years later (full chronological details will be

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to the ground to summon other priests and Levites into the Temple' (Kligman, 'Jewish Liturgical Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Walden, 87).

[114] Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ', 179.

[115] 'Margaret Street Synagogue', *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 January 1859.

[116] Advertisements for the post were only printed in late June 1859, making the period between appointment and start date (September of the same year, just before the High Holydays) very limited. Letters between the Synagogue wardens and Salaman acknowledged his contribution to 'the arrangement & adaptation of the Choral Music at the introduction of the organ' (MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, November 1859). The *Morning Chronicle* of 27 September even indicated that Salaman played the organ at the inauguration service, although I have not been able to corroborate this information. Verrinder was paid £10 for his contribution to the service (MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, November 1859), although it is unclear what this comprised.

[117] Little information exists regarding Edward Hart; he and Verrinder worked alongside one another for three years, until he was informed that services as Choirmaster were to be 'dispensed with' (MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, March 1863). Simon Waley was a merchant and published composer, trained in piano composition by Moscheles and Sterndale Bennett, among others. See Joseph Jacobs, 'Simon Waley', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 3 June 2020) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14765-waley-simon-waley.

discussed in the following chapter) comprised many more of Verrinder's original compositions and choral/organ arrangements.

A letter to the *Musical Standard* in 1867 is helpful in understanding Verrinder's earliest responsibilities, albeit in a first-hand response from Verrinder to a critical attack on the Synagogue's music.[118] Prior to Verrinder's appointment, 'a number of melodies – some old, some new – had been collected by […] Charles Salaman', and then performed by '[h]alf-a-dozen boys and a man or two, including a choirmaster […] after a traditional manner peculiarly their own, and almost entirely by ear'. Regarding his early written and arranged work for the Synagogue, Verrinder wrote:

> his [Verrinder's] first step was to make himself acquainted with the Hebrew language (no small undertaking); then to harmonise and add organ accompaniments to the music in hand; to reduce to writing other melodies which had never been on paper, and which when put down as indicated by the Precentor required much study and care lest the original might be interfered with in pruning away the many turns and embellishments which had been incrusted upon the melodies in their oral transmission through many generations.

The earliest published music used at the Synagogue was printed following Verrinder's appointment, in a collection titled *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*. This collection has a complicated history, the significance of which I shall discuss in the following chapter. Verrinder had editorial control of all six volumes ultimately published, yet Salaman took a more prominent role in the compilation and arrangement of the music already in circulation prior to Verrinder's arrival, most notably found in the first volume of *The Music used…*. The most striking – yet least surprising – aspect of Verrinder's organ accompaniments, whether arranged by him or by Salaman in the first instance, is that each choral part is included in the texture (Example 1).[119] This is not unusual in either church or existing synagogue music which incorporated the organ. In a similar approach to Marks, Berlin's Louis Lewandowski considered that the instrument could significantly improve the quality of choral and congregational musical worship; as Frühauf points out, however, he remained silent on the more contentious issue of the organ as anything more than 'pure accompaniment'.[120] Other synagogue musicians, including France's Samuel Naumbourg and

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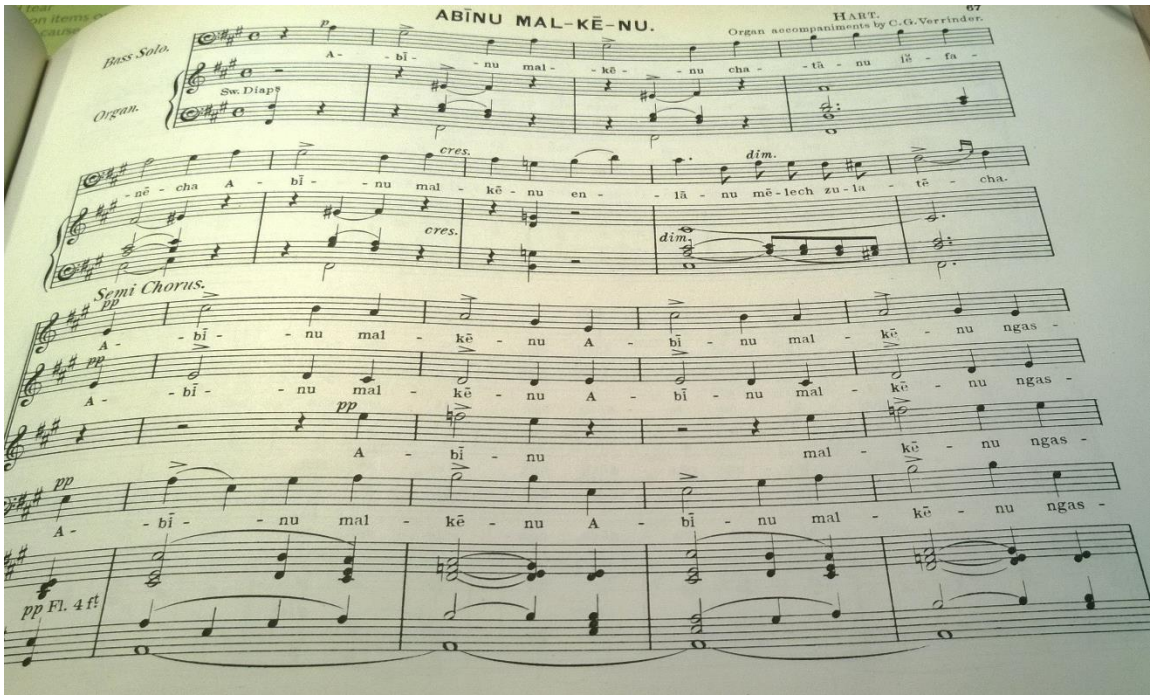
[118] 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews', *Musical Standard*, 4 May 1867. Verrinder's letter responded to a series of articles by the same name, printed in the *Musical Standard* between 16 March and 25 May (see Chapter Four).

[119] Examples 1 to 5 are taken from C. K. Salaman and C. G. Verrinder, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., c.1891-97). I am grateful to David Jacobs for his generous gift of his father's set of Volumes 1 and 2.

[120] Louis Lewandowski, "Gutachten betr. Den Antrag wegen Bewilligung der Geldmittel zur Herstellung eines Orgewerkes in der neuen Synagoge", 13 January 1862, cited in translation in Frühauf, *The Organ and its Music*, 35-36.

Liverpool's Abraham Saqui, also adopted instrumental accompaniment (whether for services or for home practice) which largely doubled the choral writing.

Doubling avoided complex or intricate organ accompaniments which obstructed textual clarity, adhering to Marks' indication that the instrument should not obscure the principal focus of worship. However, it also had musical advantages within and beyond the West London Synagogue. This type of writing enabled more effective practice for congregants keen to familiarise themselves with the melodies at home – one of the principal reasons for the numerous publications of Jewish liturgical music across the century. It also meant that the organ could easily be removed, and the choral arrangements performed unaccompanied in synagogues which would not incorporate instrumental music into Sabbath and Holy Day services.[121] This is not to say that Verrinder made his organ arrangements superfluous; as shown in Example 1, bass pedals, additional notes, and a level of interplay between the choir (or solo voice) and organn contributed harmonic and textural colour.



Example 1: 'Abinu Malkenu', composed by Edward Hart, organ arrangement by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 4. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections C.658.

This style of simple but effective organ arrangement was designed to enable more confident singing among the choir (which until 1865 included boy choristers, not all of whom had much prior training) as well as – potentially – among the congregation. Verrinder's reputation for producing high-quality music and respecting the needs of his congregants is evident despite a number of less positive

[121] A number of Verrinder's arrangements and compositions reached other synagogues, although possibly to a lesser degree than he himself may have wished.

comments on the silent nature of the West London Synagogue's congregation. His publication of two separate volumes of music used in the West London Synagogue by 1870 suggests that he wanted to resolve the unpredictability of musical worship. There are varied commentaries regarding the space for congregational participation at the West London Synagogue; some critics complained that the choir actively prevented congregants from joining in with psalms and hymns – although such criticism was not reserved for the West London Synagogue alone. An 1875 report on 'Synagogue Singing' in the *Jewish Chronicle* bewailed the lack in British synagogues of a hymnal such as those found in church services, which prevented musical choices being 'left to the passing fancy and caprice of the conductor of the choir [… t]he constant changing of the tunes renders it impossible for the congregation to join in the chaunting [sic.] of the choir.' [122]

A common claim concerning the West London Synagogue's musical repertoire was that it contained 'nothing […] of a decidedly ancient, or even of a national character', but instead 'chiefly […] Anglican chants, for which the use of the Hebrew text has been pointed and barred by an Oxford Bachelor of Music'.[123] The disdain for apparently church-style chants by a non-Jewish, Anglican-trained musician is evident, with an implication that someone from outside the faith was incapable of producing music of Jewish 'national character'. While it is not clear what 'national character' the critic expected, the Synagogue's volumes contained several traditional Jewish melodies of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi origin, alongside chants, hymns, and anthems. Furthermore, this claim does not give Verrinder credit for acknowledging the merit of Anglican-style arrangements in helping his Anglo-Jewish community to participate in worship. The simple, repeated melodies, such as that in his Psalm 121 (Example 2 – his most famous composition), pre-date later requests found in the *Jewish Chronicle*'s pages for 'tunes of simple range, say not exceeding one octave or an octave and a half', which must be 'hymn, not anthem'.[124] In 1862 Verrinder had offered (at the Synagogue's suggestion) rehearsals for congregants interested in participating in the singing during services – something also suggested in these later discussions in the *Jewish Chronicle*. These classes were met with an apathetic response. Two further attempts occurred in 1882 and 1896; however, it would seem that – as in synagogues across the country – congregational singing remained an aspiration, whether for reasons of poor attendance or through apathy at rehearsals and services.[125] These discussions – when featured in the Jewish press –

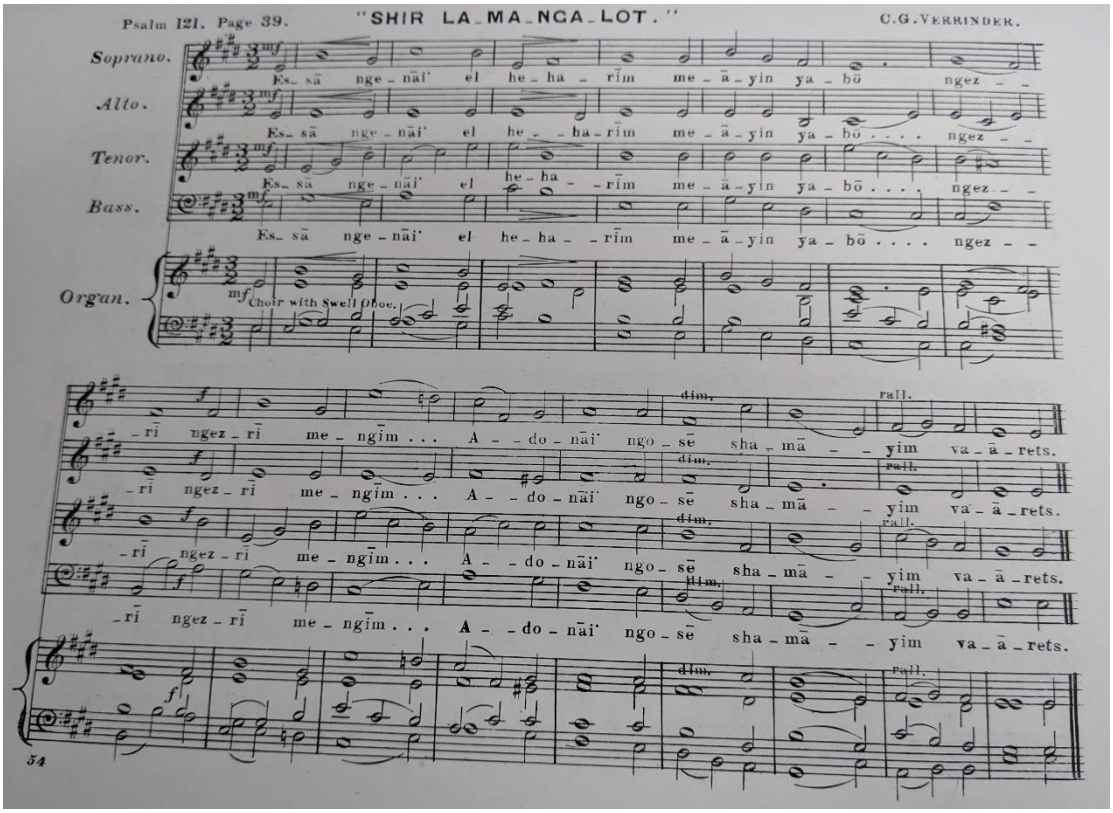
[122] 'Synagogue Singing', *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 August 1875.

[123] 'Synagogal Music', *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 November 1867. Verrinder's mysterious Psalter appears to be the object of criticism here. In fact, the earliest chants of the 'Anglican' style, found in the first of Verrinder and Salaman's volumes, were composed by Edward Hart (such as his setting of Psalm 145), not Verrinder, who received his degree from Oxford in 1862.

[124] 'Synagogue Singing', *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 August 1874 and 6 April 1888.

[125] 'Congregational Singing', *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 July 1882 and 11 December 1896. The latter indicated that such problems were not unique to the West London Synagogue: '[i]t is almost impossible for a handful of worshippers to sing in an empty building; the most assiduous attendants at a class would shrink from such an

frequently returned to demands for a hymnal from which to learn and perform the liturgy. In the lead up to the publication of the United Synagogue's own hymnal in 1889, extended and revised in 1899, such comments indicated the more widespread issue with congregational participation extending beyond the West London Synagogue, where Verrinder's two volumes of published music were already being used.



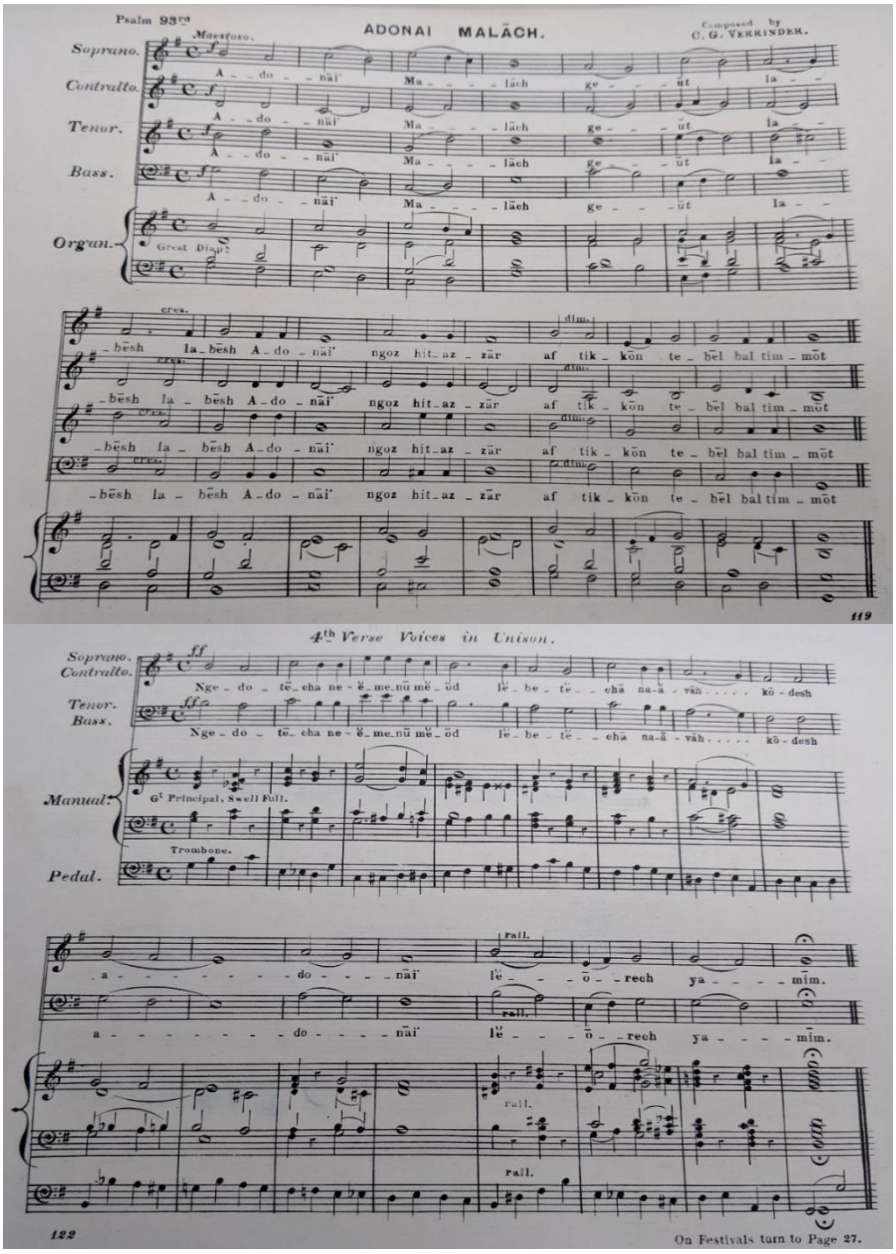
Example 2: Psalm 121, 'Shir La-ma-nga-lot', composed and arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

Verrinder's role in the failure of congregational singing at the West London Synagogue is therefore not clear, particularly given comments regarding his duties which appear elsewhere. In an address from St Mary's Church, Kensington in 1893, where Verrinder now worked alongside his role at the West London Synagogue, the Vicar spoke of his sensitivity to the role of the choir and to the Church's congregation:

> If we are to work upon the rule that the proper mission of a choir is to lead the singing rather than to sing, we feel that our proper course is to continue on the old lines, and seek that our Choir shall continue to be a practical help

ordeal. We scarcely know how the difficulty is to be surmounted in synagogues where this unfortunate state of affairs prevails.'

> in administering to the religious life of the congregation. I have had no anxiety whatever in connection with the Choir since Dr. Verrinder's appointment, a fact which speaks volumes for his tact and management.[126]

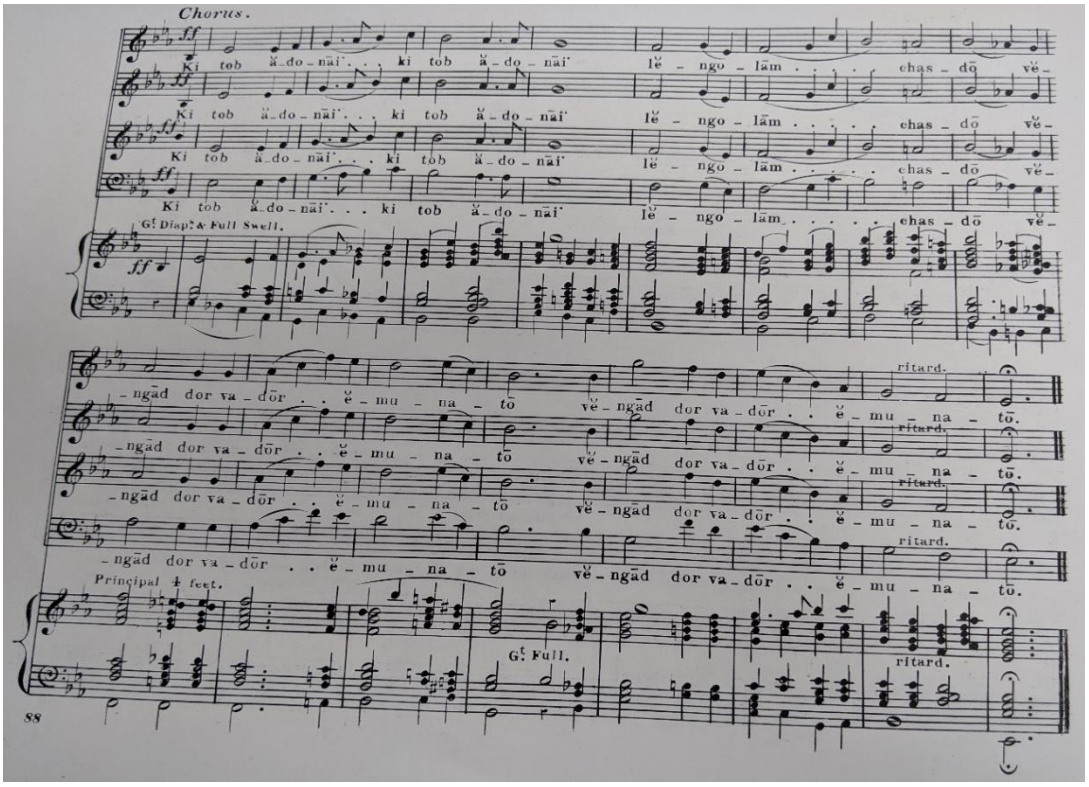


Example 3: Psalm 93, 'Adonai Malach', verses 1 and 4, composed and arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

Returning to the question of organ writing specifically, Verrinder's use of doubling in the West London Synagogue's organ accompaniments is the best example of his adherence to Marks' notion that the

[126] Interestingly, this address was picked up by the *Jewish Chronicle* (12 May 1893) and the message from the Vicar of St Mary's quoted under the title 'Dr Verrinder'.

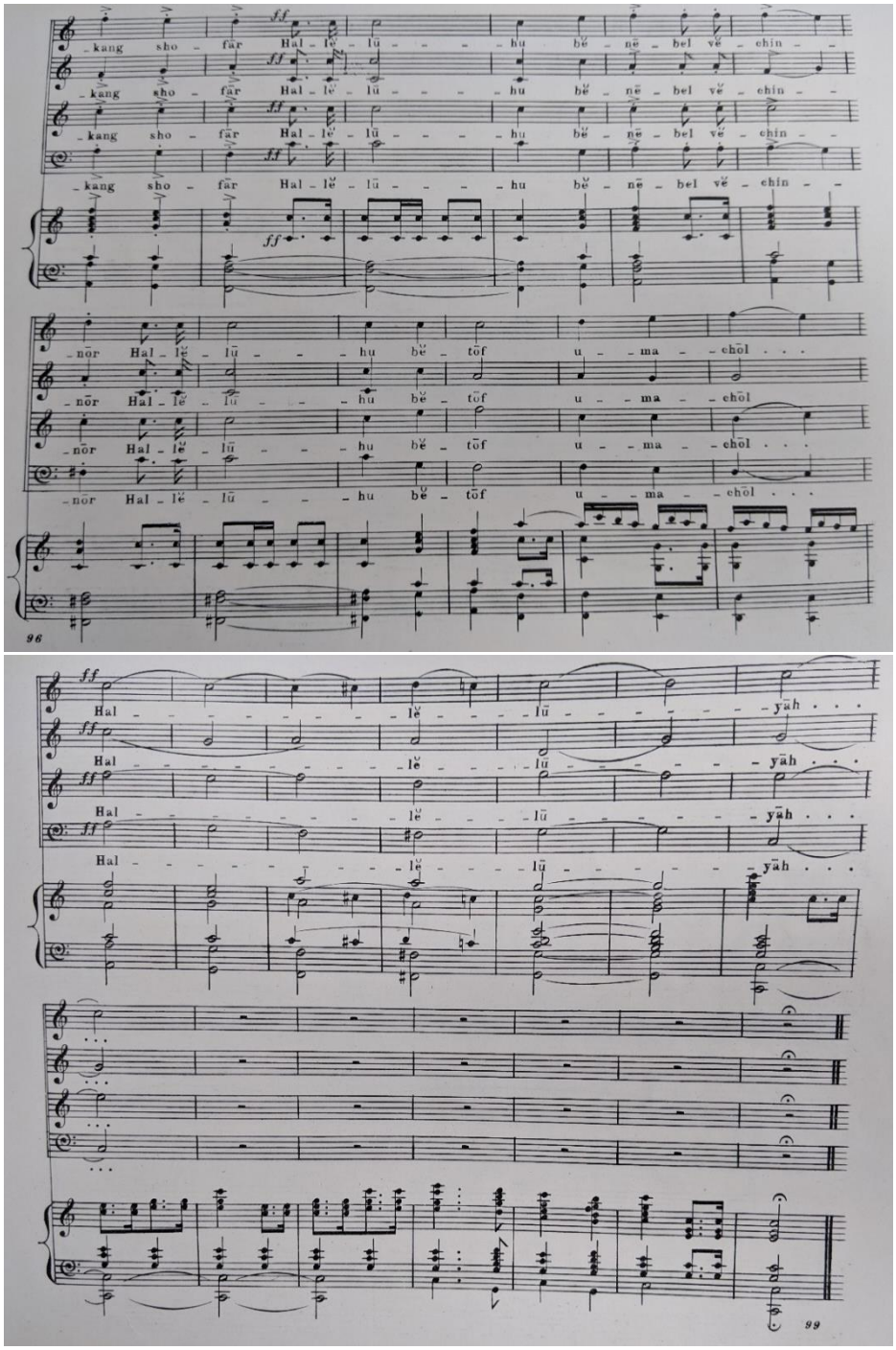
instrument should enhance congregational devotion. Clearly in agreement that the Synagogue's congregation should be able to participate in services, Verrinder's sensitivity to his role is also evident through the repetition of simple pieces across services in order to familiarise the congregation with particular liturgical melodies. This is easy to spot through his volumes for the Synagogue, which include – in order – the full repertoire used in any given service. His setting of Psalm 93 (Example 3) features in a number of Evening and Morning services. This same piece is also an example of Verrinder's more flamboyant writing. At first appearing like a standard setting of a multi-verse text, in which the organ doubles the choir as normal, the final verse incorporates a more adventurous organ accompaniment underneath unison voices (complete with a powerful 16-foot Trombone pedal stop).



Example 4: Psalm 100, 'Mizmor Le-Todah', verse 4, composed by C. K. Salaman, organ arrangement by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

A similar technique is also found in Verrinder's arrangement of Salaman's setting of Psalm 100 (Example 4), a melodically simple yet vocally ambitious composition which incorporates top Gs for soprano, alto and tenor in the final verse, over harmonically interesting organ writing. This technique imitated an established church tradition in which organists displayed their musical skill by adding more creative accompaniments to the final verse of a hymn, sometimes improvised during the service itself, using chromaticism, a larger pitch range and more powerful stops. Verrinder's usage of it suggests that he expected the unison verses to encourage congregational participation, as it did in large churches. By

creating a bigger vocal sound on the melodic line combined with a rousing organ accompaniment which contrasted harmonically and rhythmically with the rest of the piece, Verrinder's arrangements indicate an attempt to follow the other aspect of Marks' comment on the role of the organ: that it would contribute to 'elevat[ing the] spirits' of the congregation.



Example 5: Psalm 150, 'Halleluyah', excerpts, composed and arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

This example is perhaps the best indicator that Verrinder's adoption of Anglican-style techniques – far from being a negative force in synagogue practice – attempted to enhance Jewish musical worship through opportunities to encourage congregational enthusiasm for liturgy. More ambitious organ accompaniments were also used on occasions where congregational participation was less expected; for example, Verrinder's setting of Psalm 150 (Example 5) feels more like an anthem than a hymn, and incorporates more complex vocal writing as well as elaborate organ flourishes. The last of the Psalms, which calls for every instrument and voice to unite in the praising of God, Psalm 150 supports Marks' argument that the absence of instrumental music in Jewish worship contradicted the words recited weekly by synagogue congregations. It is also frequently associated with weddings and other celebratory events – according to a number of notices, Verrinder's composition was written for and performed at many of the Synagogue's confirmation services, as well as its Jubilee service in 1892. His arrangement includes short organ interludes, fanfares, rapid movement under sustained vocal writing and a triumphant finish. As in his final verses of Psalms 93 and 100, Verrinder's majestic organ accompaniment in Psalm 150 provides more than just choral support; it indicates a shift in liturgical expression, encouraging the congregation to be spiritually moved by the power of the text and music combined. It is only in spirit, rather than voice, however, that the congregation seem able to deliver their praise to God during this moment. There is an irony that the melodic writing actually prohibits the congregation from participating vocally; the soprano line includes long, high phrases containing many held notes out of the range and breath capacity of the average congregant, and all voices are used interjectively and often in counterpoint. The only true memorable feature of the piece being the percussive dotted rhythms on the word 'Hallelu'.

It is perhaps not surprising that Verrinder's more ambitious organ accompaniments can principally be found from the second to the sixth volumes of his collection of music for the Synagogue. First published in 1870, Volume 2 appeared following the move to Upper Berkeley Street earlier that year, where an imposing instrument designed and built by renowned organ builders Gray & Davison surpassed its predecessor at Margaret Street in size and power (see Figure 5). There is little information regarding the two instruments in the Synagogue's archives, other than a list of the stops to be included on the Upper Berkeley Street organ and two sets of installation costs. The Gray & Davison records (kindly provided by organ specialist and Gray & Davison historian Nicholas Thistlethwaite; see Appendix 2) outline the specificities of both instruments, including date ordered, initial cost, and casing details. The original organ ultimately cost £376; £26 more than anticipated due to Verrinder and Salaman's requests for 'some additional stops' required 'for the character of the music to be performed', and about the same as an organ built for a London church of similar proportions.[127] Thistlethwaite

[127] MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, 1859 November Report of the Organ Committee. Few stops feature in Verrinder's first volume of music for the Synagogue which are not listed in the Gray & Davison specification, with the exception of examples like the Clarabella Flute on the Great Organ found in his setting 'Az Yashir Moshe'. Further examination of the organ parts across different editions of the volumes would need to be undertaken to assess the

suggests that it was '[a] typical G&D organ of the period, indistinguishable from church instruments of this date'.[128] By striking contrast, the Upper Berkeley Street organ was estimated to cost £1200, about equivalent to the cost of a cathedral organ during the same period; the reputation of West London Synagogue as the Reformed 'cathedral synagogue', designed and built to display the congregation's prominence, was thus mirrored in its musical capacity, with the great organ and augmented choir now serving to lead and impress upon a potential congregation of 1,000 members. As a demonstration of how different the two instruments were, it was also suggested that only £200 could be saved if the Margaret Street organ were transplanted to the new Synagogue and adapted to suit the new requirements.[129] The Margaret Street organ had only two manuals, a pedalboard, two couplers, and three composition pedals.[130] While 'fairly standard' in terms of organs of the period, this was a more modest instrument than in Verrinder's other place of employment, St Giles-in-the-Fields, which had been 'completely reconstruct[ed]' by Gray & Davison around Verrinder's appointment in 1856, although the Synagogue's seating capacity of about 500 congregants was also far smaller than the significant parish in Camden.[131] In comparison, the Upper Berkeley Street organ had three manuals, a pedalboard, 32 stops (6 of which were 16 feet), five couplers, and eight composition pedals. A fourth, solo manual was added in 1890. Thistlethwaite remarks that '[t]he stop-list illustrates how the taste for semi-orchestral voices had grown', with additions including Flute d'Amour, Corno di Bassetto, Violone, and Trombone; he also reflects on Gray & Davison's interest in 'contemporary French organs' as seen by the use of three harmonic stops on the Great Organ.[132]

Verrinder evidently used both organs to introduce variety and devotional sensitivity to his arrangements, using a combination of manuals, stops, and – when appropriate – pedal ostinati to convey the different moods depicted across liturgical texts and hymn verses. This was the style into which he had been trained, which itself had grown out of new spiritual and congregational practices with the introduction of High Church/Tractarian customs and increasingly popular hymnody. Thistlethwaite acknowledges the 'experimentation and innovation' necessary in developing the capabilities of the

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extent to which the arrangements were adapted between editions, or used to explore the full potential of each of the two instruments designed for the Synagogue.

[128] Nicholas Thistlethwaite, personal correspondence (see Appendix 3).

[129] MS 140 AJ 59 1/7, Organ of West London Synagogue, Specification (Gray & Davison), 1869.

[130] Personal correspondence with Nicholas Thistlethwaite, December 2020. See also Thistlethwaite, *Organ-Building in Georgian and Victorian England: The Work of Gray & Davison, 1772-1890* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020).

[131] Thistlethwaite, personal correspondence; the Gray & Davison organ at St Giles had three manuals, a pedalboard, five couplers and five composition pedals – in Thistlethwaite's words, an 'ambitious instrument'. See also 'The Organ', and 'History', St Giles-in-the-Fields (both accessed 3 December 2020): https://www.stgilesonline.org/church-musicians, https://www.stgilesonline.org/history.

[132] Thistlethwaite, personal correspondence.

English organ during the 1830s and 1840s.[133] Once an instrument which would have been unfamiliar to European organists, German and French influences (in the use of orchestral stops and pedals) transformed the English organ so that, by the 1850s, it was of suitable power and dexterity to accompany the various types of musical style now popular in the Anglican Church: not just choral chants and anthems, but also congregational hymns and instrumental solos.[134] As Verrinder's volumes of music do not often call for the use of specific orchestral stops, it can be assumed that these were principally heard to greatest effect when directions were to use the 'full' manual (such as 'Great Full'); it is also likely that these stops were more prominently featured in the opening and closing voluntaries performed by Verrinder on solo organ, for which notated music no longer exists. The various organs Verrinder presided over in the West London Synagogue, St Giles-in-the-Fields and the other churches in which he was employed appear to have prepared him for a career as a concert organist in addition to his duties as a sacred performer; during the latter half of the century, he was regularly invited to perform on the technically innovative and imposing instruments which were built for the Albert Hall and other large performance spaces (including town halls across the country; see Appendix 5 for a list of the venues in which Verrinder performed).[135]

Despite his evident capabilities as a composer, arranger, and performer of ambitious organ writing, Verrinder's simple accompaniments for the majority of his Synagogue repertoire was likely, in part, also an acknowledgement that his compositions would be more successful in other synagogues if the organ could be omitted. However, he perhaps hoped that his more elaborate and powerful accompaniments might convince other congregations of the instrument's indispensability during key moments in the service. Many Jewish music publications – including Emanuel Aguilar's 1857 *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (about which more in the next chapter) and Mombach's posthumous collection of melodies used in the Great Synagogue – did incorporate keyboard parts, although these were almost entirely used as aids for domestic practise. Useful comparisons can nevertheless be drawn between Verrinder's music and the volume *Songs of Israel* by Abraham Saqui, notable pianist and founder of the Princes Road Orthodox Synagogue Choir in Liverpool.[136] Saqui's 1878 volume also provided accompaniments for organ (or piano), although the collection itself did not

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[133] Thistlethwaite, 'Re-Making the English Organ: Musical and Liturgical Contexts, 1830-1870', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 12 (2015): 85.

[134] Thistlethwaite, 'Re-Making the English Organ', 81; 92-93.

[135] 'The Box of Whistles: A Short History of English Church Organs, 1500-1900', a presentation by Nicholas Thistlethwaite to The Churches Conservation Trust, November 2020 (accessed 3 December 2020): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrSKIv_xoD8.

[136] Abraham Saqui, *Songs of Israel, being Psalms, Hymns & Chants, with Hebrew words as used in the Synagogue Service, and an English Paraphrase composed and arranged for four voices, with an accompaniment for Pianoforte or Organ, by A. Saqui, Choir Master of the Old Hebrew Congregation, Princes Road, Liverpool* (London, Boosey Patey & Co., 1878). According to the Preface, Saqui added English translations (written principally by Savile Clarke) '[i]n order to render the book acceptable to other than Hebrew Congregations'.

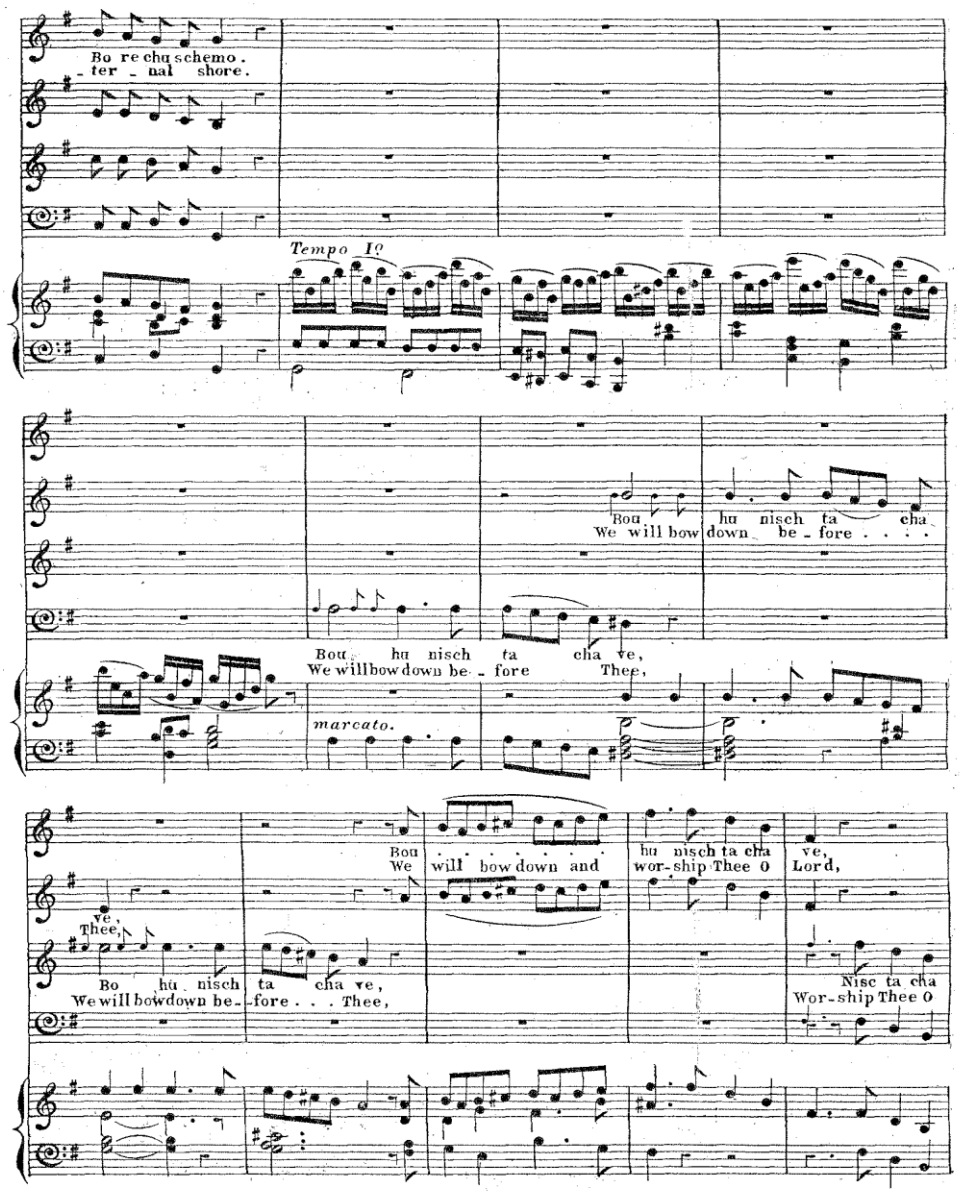
specify how to use these on Sabbaths and Holy Days. A stand-out piece in the volume is Saqui's setting of 'Baruch Habo' (Example 6), part of the wedding service, which alternates between choral sections doubled in the accompaniment, and short piano interludes of varying virtuosity. As weddings would not have taken place on holy days, piano accompaniment was not prohibited; moreover, as in Verrinder's Psalm 150, the celebratory nature of the piece (and its context) could necessitate a more ornate setting intended for the congregation to listen to, not participate in. This comparison adds weight to the theory that Verrinder used his musical skill not to demonstrate his own dexterity at the organ, but to create arrangements which suited the mood and meaning of the liturgy. It also demonstrates that this new genre of liturgical music was determined to bring synagogue practice into the nineteenth century, weaving into its fabric musical styles popular among contemporary British society. While Saqui's arrangement has Mozartian elements appropriate for a skilled pianist, Verrinder's Psalm 150 implies a nod to Mendelssohn in a text often set as a Jewish equivalent of the Wedding March.

A further reference to Verrinder's Anglican training was his use of tonality to create cohesion. This is first seen in Volume 1, with a number of continuous pieces in F major towards the end of the Morning Service.[137] Tonal cohesion was taken a step further by Verrinder in his more autonomous writing for Volume 2, included in which is a Sabbath service in G major; Volume 4 follows this example by incorporating a Yom Kippur service in E major – perhaps Verrinder liked the idea of synagogue choirs across Britain performing 'Verrinder in E' as church choirs performed services by his church contemporaries.[138] The types of pieces found within these 'services' in a particular key vary in their ability to encourage congregational participation; one might consider this a deliberate choice on Verrinder's part, given his obvious attempts to imitate the professionalisation and coherence of the Anglican musical service. In particular, liturgical texts focused around *piyyutim* (such as *En Kelohenu* or *Adon Ngolam*) are hymnic, based on short, memorable, and repeated melodies within a limited range. Such pieces echo the use of hymns at specific moments within an Anglican service, particularly the opening and concluding sections, during which the whole congregation is encouraged to take part. By contrast, those pieces which often are sung while another aspect of the service is taking place – such as *Mizmor LeDavid* (Psalm 29), sung during the procession of the Torah scrolls – are more anthemic, incorporating more ambitious choral writing and less 'catchy' melodies, suitable principally for performance by the choir. Between these are short responses to ministerial readings; either alternating Psalm verses or, more commonly, blessings concluding particular prayers. These often take the form of

[137] Interestingly, Verrinder ensured that the concluding hymn, *Adon Olam*, in D major, does not suffer from moving to an unfamiliar key. A tonic chord is played at the start of the piece, followed by additional tonic notes in the bass of the organ part which establish a 3/4 time signature. Verrinder frequently added additional punctuations of pitch and metre where a strong beat was required, or to assist the choir (and perhaps the congregation) in their entrances following a passage of read text.

[138] Verrinder also composed a 'Service in E' which was performed in cathedrals across Britain, most commonly at Carlisle; 'Service Lists', *Musical Standard*, 28 October 1876.

chants based on a vocal range of less than an octave, closing (after a short final ministerial interjection) with a plagal 'Amen'. While with repetition it would be likely that the congregation would be familiar enough with these to participate, the use of such responses, in line with those sung by Anglican Church choirs, suggests that Verrinder intended these also to form an important part of the choral (and therefore non-congregational) service.



Example 6. 'Baruch Habo', excerpt, composed and arranged by Abraham Saqui. *Songs of Israel* (1878).

Interestingly, the idea of a central key uniting these contrasting forms of musical liturgy seems to juxtapose a Christian worship tradition with the ancient Jewish practice of the use of modes – *nusach* – to distinguish between different types of religious service. *Nusach* is noticeably absent in early Reform repertoire due to its associations with *chazanut* and exoticism from which the West London Synagogue

were keen to detach themselves; however, consciously or not, Verrinder alluded to it here through the use of an overarching tonality. While the principal of *nusach* was the same – that a uniform musical language would assist both textual understanding and devotional spirit through its clear structure and associations – it is more likely that Verrinder's choice was for reasons of accepted British practice. Nonetheless, the musical 'oneness' represented by a central tonality or mode demonstrated that musical traditions – whether in synagogue or church – were united in their goal to create an atmosphere suitable for spiritual worship.

From Special to Standard: New pieces and voices

All these aspects of Verrinder's writing for the Synagogue – tonal structure, textual clarity, and devotional feeling – indicated the quality of his training not just as a musician, but as one sensitive to the requirements of religious worship. As demonstrated, his work was generally received positively, with occasional criticisms regarding his suitability for the role. In fact, however, these criticisms rarely judged Verrinder on a personal level; cynical attacks on a 'non-Jew' playing the organ, or even an 'Oxford Bachelor of Music' perhaps spoke more to the deep-rooted sense of collective 'otherness' – as much within Jewish as in British society – that these things represented (bearing in mind that Jews had only recently been admitted to Oxford and Cambridge, and rarely attended). To that end, Verrinder experienced a double 'othering': on the one hand, as a 'non-Jew' working in a synagogue; on the other, as a representative of the 'Reform' community seen to be working against Orthodox values.

Of Verrinder's achievements within the Synagogue, two endeavours particularly demonstrate the extent to which he had to overcome 'othering' from both sides. As previously indicated, Verrinder's earliest work was the harmonic and organ arrangements of pre-existing melodies. These were mostly traditional or 'ancient' tunes, but also included a number of compositions by Salaman, Waley and Hart as well as settings of works by, for instance, Mendelssohn. In 1862, Verrinder wrote to the wardens to ask for a raise in pay in line with two cathedral positions for which he had been recommended but had turned down in order to remain at the Synagogue. Of his work to date, he wrote:

> Within little more than 12 months, 8 new pieces of music have been introduced into the Synagogue services, of these 5 have been composed by me expressly to suit and describe the subject of the words […] feeling as I do a deep interest in, and attachment for the wellbeing of the Synagogue services and music, I desire to remain connected with it, and beg I may be excused if I say that I have made some little sacrifice to do so.[139]

[139] MS 140 AJ 175 131/15, June 1862.

His reply to the wardens' answer, about three weeks later, indicated that Verrinder did not receive a raise at this time – despite being newly made a Bachelor of Music from Oxford – and that it was clear that 'adaptations of Hebrew melodies would be more acceptable than modern compositions'.[140] The reasons for this preference are not explained, other than to suggest that this followed 'the wishes of the majority of the members of the Synagogue'; however, given the number of 'modern compositions' already in the Synagogue's choral repertoire by this point written by other, Jewish musicians, one wonders whether this showed suspicion towards Verrinder's ability to compose an 'authentic' Jewish work. It appears that by the publication of Verrinder's second volume of music in 1870 this instruction had either been amended or ignored, the collection containing several of Verrinder's new compositions – including his 'Service in G'. Moreover, a letter written by Waley (then First Warden) prior to the second volume's publication stated that:

> Most of it consists of music that is now frequently sung in Synagogue. There is very little that I do not know, and very little that does not seem quite appropriate. The whole of it seems prepared in a sprit thoroughly appreciating the Services for which it is intended. The Character [sic.] of the music is elevated, and devotional.[141]

It seems that Verrinder had been drip-feeding his new compositions into the choral repertoire of the Synagogue slowly over the course of eight years, to the extent that they became a familiar part of the service. Moreover, a number of these compositions – including his Psalm 150 – had been composed for special occasions, such as confirmations, which would not have fallen on the Sabbath and High Holydays. The initial dismissal of Verrinder's new works within regular services suggests that, in terms of holy worship days, Verrinder remained a Christian first and a musician second. New compositions were acceptable – and apparently encouraged – for occasions deemed less 'holy'; the irony that high-quality new works were reserved for irregular services but unacceptable in weekly worship seems to go against Marks' own ideals of musical celebration. By 1870, however, Verrinder appeared to have overcome this perception and his new music accepted in regular choral services.

A second concession to high-quality music for Sabbath services came during the same period; however, on this occasion Verrinder's suggestion – to incorporate female singers in the choir – went against British, Anglican, and traditional Orthodox Jewish custom. Regarding the first two, the participation of women in services disturbed visions of Victorian female modesty, and took a step backwards in British choral practice which had progressed from mixed choirs of untrained parishioners towards high-quality, robed male-voice choirs through the aesthetic improvements of the Choral

[140] MS 140 AJ 175 131/15, July 1862.
[141] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 August 1870.

Revival and Oxford Movement.[142] In terms of Jewish practice, female singers were forbidden by the Talmudic law *kol isha* ('the voice of a woman'), which stipulates that a woman's voice cannot be heard by men outside her own immediate family for fear of inspiring 'impure thoughts' and distracting them from their prayers and Jewish learning.

Kol isha appears to have been of little concern to the West London Synagogue, which had incorporated female singers in its choir on special occasions – such as weddings and confirmations – since its inaugural service in 1842; regular services, however, continued to use only male voices.[143] In fact, sources from across the mid- to late-century suggest that *kol isha* was more of an excuse for Victorian sensitivities towards female participation in worship than the root cause. A comment printed in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1873 indicated a preference for prayers to 'be prayed by a congregation of men and boys, but not too prominently by ladies', a pleasantly 'old fashioned' notion to which most Jewish congregations adhered.[144] An 1888 letter spun this quaint idea into one of more realistic 'mediaeval' illusion: 'nowadays ladies do sing in the synagogue; but [objectors] will not practically admit the fact either by recognising them as adjuncts to the choir or by shutting their mouths altogether'.[145] Custom, nostalgia and delectation, rather than law, dictated current practice; as such, women were in an apathetic no man's land – neither forbidden nor recognised.

Victorian male dominance combined with a historic Jewish notion that the obligation to pray fell to men also shaped not just the sound of worship, but the physical structure of most synagogues, with women positioned in a separate 'ladies' gallery' or behind a *mechitzah* (barrier) which was frequently of insufficient size and uncomfortable. An opinion piece in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1872 related the apparently disastrous move of the Central Synagogue's male-voice choir from the main sanctuary to the ladies' gallery, noting not only the 'impropriety [… of] removing the choir to the Ladies' Gallery', but also revealing astonishing assumptions regarding the role of women in (Jewish) society:

> It seems to us that a choir should always be a part of the congregation. It can only pray *with* the congregation, not *for* them. […] If the choir be banished to a *loge* in the ladies' gallery, it would necessarily cease to form part of what is understood as a "congregation" […][146]

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[142] Elizabeth Blackmore's 'The "Angelic Quire": Rethinking Female Voices in Anglican Sacred Music, c. 1889' (MA diss., Durham University, 2015) argues that female singers in church choirs have been overlooked in favour of the accepted traditions of male-voice choirs which were established during this period. Moreover, she demonstrates that mixed choirs remained present in parishes – mostly outside of major cities – which had neither the financial means nor the congregation to update their musical practices to the new model.

[143] 'Reopening of the West London Synagogue of British Jews', *Morning Chronicle*, 27 September 1859.

[144] See Footnote 72.

[145] 'Synagogue Singing', *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 April 1888.

[146] 'Synagogue Choirs', *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 November 1872.

This was not the opinion of all Orthodox Jews; another letter stated that:

> […] it has ever seemed to me hopeless to expect to look for an orderly, a devout, a solemn service, so long as that portion of the congregation, in which most naturally resides the bulk of the spirituality, is marked out for degradation, if not for insult, by being packed away in galleries, apparently allowed into the synagogue on sufferance.[147]

It was this opinion which most closely allied with David Woolf Marks' own. In fact, Marks had been clear in his opening sermon for the Synagogue in 1842 that he believed that women should 'participate […] in the full discharge of every moral and religious obligation', a public statement which 'was an unheard of subject' for synagogues of the time.[148] In 1862 it was reported by the Musical Committee that 'the falling off in the number and capabilities of the boys' in the choir was causing its quality to be 'compromised'.[149] This led to a series of reports and correspondence which lasted until 1865, largely from Verrinder to the wardens of the Synagogue, urging them to consider the benefits of female singers to replace the young boys. Ironically, the ministers of the Synagogue – Marks and his deputy Albert Löwy – consented to the addition of women to the choir in February 1862 on the grounds that '[t]he participation of females in the service of the Choir on several successive occasions has met with the tacit concurrence both of the ministers and of the congregation'.[150] It is not clear, therefore, what caused the wardens to dismiss (or ignore) Verrinder's request for a further three years, particularly as during this time certain female singers – such as Grace Lindo and Julia Sydney – sang at annual High Holyday services, the holiest days of the year. Eventually, however, they agreed to Verrinder's repeated appeals, and ladies were auditioned to become regular members of the choir, some of whom were volunteers, others paid for their services. In keeping with Victorian ideas of modesty, however, the choir were moved to a place in the synagogue where the women could be heard, but not seen; furthermore, letters in the Synagogue's archives indicate that married women were not permitted to sing in the choir.[151]

Verrinder's continued run-ins with the Synagogue wardens (with the exception of Waley), usually the congregation's most affluent and influential members, are indicative of the difficulties he faced as a relatively lower-middle-class, Christian musician amidst a community of upper-middle-class (and upper-class) Jews. This is particularly striking given that the Synagogue's ministers and Verrinder's musical colleagues generally responded positively to his work. Concerns regarding disapproval both from British upper-class society and other more Orthodox members of the Jewish elite

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[147] 'Services for Women', *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 February 1891.

[148] Marks, 'Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the 'West London Synagogue for British Jews,' on Thursday, January 27th, 5602 [1842]', *Sermons preached on various occasions, at the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Series 1.* (London: R. Groombridge and Sons, 1851), 18; also Bernard, *A Beacon of Light*, 18.

[149] MS 140 AJ 175 131/15, February 1862.

[150] MS 140 AJ 175 131/15, February 1862.

[151] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, February 1870.

perhaps held more influence over the wardens and thus became reflected upon Verrinder as an outsider to both these worlds. At the same time, Verrinder's ultimate goal – demonstrated through his slow and steady work to include well-considered compositions and high-quality female voices – was the raising of musical standards and devotional feeling in regular services. As I will indicate in later chapters, this was something to which many other synagogues could merely aspire, or which they could only attain on occasions where similar forces to those at the West London Synagogue could be deployed. Witness from a young age to improvements and developments in sacred music, Verrinder saw his work at the West London Synagogue not as a uniquely Jewish endeavour, but one which united British, Anglican, and Jewish society through shared religious and cultural experience. Verrinder's 'double man' status raised suspicions, but it was essential to his ability to raise the Anglo-Jewish musical bar.

CHAPTER THREE

From Ancient to Modern: Published Collections of Synagogue Music

As introduced in the previous chapter, Verrinder's greatest musical output, inclusive of his compositions and arrangements for the church, was *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, largely compiled, composed, and edited together with Charles Salaman.[1] It is one of the three most significant collections of nineteenth-century British synagogue music, alongside David A. De Sola and Emanuel Aguilar's *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* and Francis Cohen and David M. Davis's *Kol Rinnah v'Todah: The Voice of Prayer and Praise*.[2] The full publication and reception history of *The Music used…* has been misunderstood, leaving substantial holes in the currently accepted history of Jewish choral music publication in Victorian Britain. This chapter incorporates new research which clarifies matters as far as possible, placing *The Music used…* within the context of the other two collections in order that musical and stylistic influences may be traced correctly across different periods and different publications.

Most studies of Jewish music in England which mention *The Music used…* have focussed on denominational crossovers within Judaism. Alexander Knapp's identification of German music in British synagogue practice and Naomi Cohn Zentner's article on the appearance of Sephardi melodies in Ashkenazi liturgy in London, for example, incorporate discussion of the West London Synagogue volumes to illustrate particular examples of such crossovers, but do not consider their use in the Reform Synagogue or in British synagogue practice more broadly.[3] The second half of this chapter explores material common to all three collections – namely, some of the so-called 'ancient melodies' included in Aguilar's volume and their iterations elsewhere – focussing on stylistic differences. My examination of these melodies builds on the work of Knapp and Cohn Zentner to identify how and by whom they were 'borrowed' and arranged to be acceptable to the Anglo-Jewish community's musical preferences.

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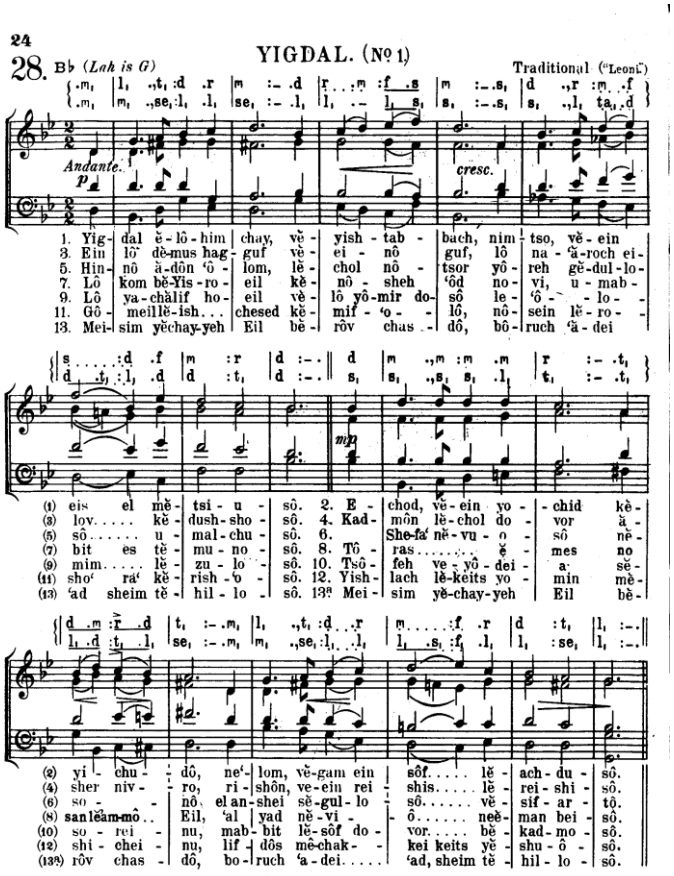
[1] C. K. Salaman and C. G. Verrinder, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., c.1891-97). As this chapter will demonstrate, other editions of this collection (or parts of it) exist; all musical examples presented here are taken from the Novello publication.

[2] E. Aguilar and D. A. De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Harmonized by Emanuel Aguilar. Preceded by an Historical Essay on the Poets, Poetry and Melodies of the Sephardic Liturgy, by the Rev. D. A. De Sola, Minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of Jews, Bevis Marks, London* (London: Wertheimer and Co., 1857); Francis L. Cohen and David M. Davis, *Kol Rinnah V'Todah. The Voice of Prayer and Praise: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing. Arranged and Edited for the United Synagogue with the sanction of the Chief Rabbi* (London: Greenberg and Co., 1899).

[3] Alexander Knapp, 'The Influence of German Music on United Kingdom Synagogue Practice', *Jewish Historical Studies* 35 (1998): 167-197; Naomi Cohn Zentner, 'Sephardic Influences in the liturgy of Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews in London' (MA diss., McGill University, 2004).

The aim of this chapter, then, is to demonstrate exactly where Verrinder's contribution fits into the broader context of Jewish choral music in Victorian Britain.



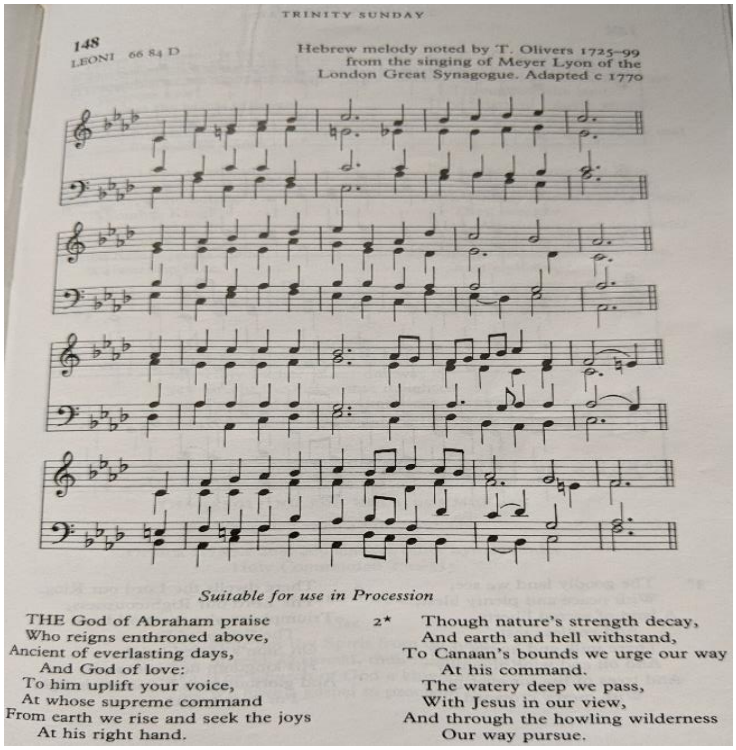
Example 1: 'Yigdal', set to Leoni tune. The 'Blue Book'.

A couple of examples of Jewish or Hebrew melodies had reached the public domain during the decades prior to the publication of these three collections. A setting of the *Yigdal* text made famous by Myer Leon was adapted for church use by Methodist Thomas Olivers in the early 1770s, following a visit to the Great Synagogue where Leon was the *chazan*.[4] The origins of the *Yigdal* melody itself are unclear – Knapp notes that 'there is some debate as to whether Leon actually composed or simply "rearranged" this version of *Yigdal*' – however, as Abraham Z. Idelsohn has observed, it contains melodic features in common with many Ashkenazi and Sephardi tunes (in particular, its opening rising scale from the tonic to the fifth), as well as those of Eastern European and Spanish folk origin (Example 1).[5] Olivers transformed it into a hymn titled 'The God of Abraham Praise', first published in 1772 and

[4] Alexander Knapp, 'The significance of Meier Leon's *Yigdal* melody as a link between Jewish and Christian hymnody in eighteenth-century London', *Jewish Historical Studies* 45 (2013): 92.

[5] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 90-91. Knapp includes Idelsohn's table comparing melodies similar to Leon's 'Yigdal'.

included in church hymnals to this day (Example 2).[6] According to Knapp, it 'went through eight editions in under two years and by 1799 had reached its 30th edition', with '[m]any thousands of copies […] sold among Anglican and Non-conformist church communities throughout Britain, the British Empire and North America'.[7]



TRINITY SUNDAY

148
LEONI 66 84 D

Hebrew melody noted by T. Olivers 1725–99
from the singing of Meyer Lyon of the
London Great Synagogue. Adapted c 1770

Suitable for use in Procession

THE God of Abraham praise
Who reigns enthroned above,
Ancient of everlasting days,
And God of love:
To him uplift your voice,
At whose supreme command
From earth we rise and seek the joys
At his right hand.

2* Though nature's strength decay,
And earth and hell withstand,
To Canaan's bounds we urge our way
At his command.
The watery deep we pass,
With Jesus in our view,
And through the howling wilderness
Our way pursue.

Example 2: 'The God of Abraham Praise', notated and arranged by T. Olivers. *The New English Hymnal*.

In hymn form, the tune's Jewish roots remain acknowledged, usually through an attribution to 'Leoni' (Leon's stage name) and/or its status as a traditional Hebrew melody.[8] Knapp, via the late Victor Tunkel, has also identified a further extension of this *Yigdal* melody beyond the church into secular music-making. The tune was arranged for three instrumental parts and included in William Keith's 1770 publication, *The Airs as Sung at the Jews Synagogue, in 3 Parts, by the Priest Signr. Leoni & c.*[9] While Leon is credited on the title page, Knapp identifies that the melody printed in Keith's volume 'appears first almost exactly as it does in *The God of Abraham Praise*' with small differences in key, note values and ornamentations.[10] Given that, by 1780, 'the melody of the Christian hymn was already well

[6] *The New English Hymnal*, fifth edition (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1989), 331.
[7] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 92.
[8] For the full history of the Leoni 'Yigdal' in the church, see Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 79-102.
[9] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 95.
[10] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 97.

established […]' Knapp suggests that it is likely, therefore, that Keith's melody was taken from Olivers' version, rather than from the Great Synagogue directly.[11]

Perhaps the most significant instance of Jewish melodies finding a place in British secular society is Isaac Nathan's *Hebrew Melodies*, a 'selection from the favorite [sic.] airs which are still sung in the religious ceremonies of the Jews', with poetry by Lord Byron set to the tunes. The collection, first published in 1815 and subsequently reprinted and added to until the late 1820s, set Byron's English texts to vocal melodies considered by Nathan to be of ancient Ashkenazi origin, with piano accompaniment. Designed as drawing room and concert hall repertoire, Nathan was eager for Jewish cantor-turned-opera singer John Braham, considered 'the most famous tenor in England', not only to perform the works (which he did, significantly increasing their popularity) but to assist with their arrangement (the offer of which Braham turned down, although his name features on subsequent editions of the volume).[12]

A large body of research addresses *Hebrew Melodies* and its various curiosities, including: discussions of its multiple editions which added new pieces and – in some cases – were published under the same title with only Byron's poetry, not Nathan's music; the origins of the melodies, which Nathan first claimed were 'all of them upwards of 1000 years old and some of them performed by the Antient [sic.] Hebrews before the destruction of the Temple' (a fact he later corrected);[13] and the details of Nathan's unlikely companionship with Byron.[14] Within this research, the principal focus has been, unsurprisingly, Byron's poetry, as it was at the time of *Hebrew Melodies*' publication. Contemporary responses to Nathan's music were mixed, with an expected anti-Jewish bias found in both private and public reviews; even those with whom Nathan most closely associated over the volume (including Byron and his allies Douglas Kinnaird and John Cam Hobhouse) were vocal about their distrust of Jews, in Kinnaird's case resulting in a vituperative anti-Semitic critique of *Hebrew Melodies* in 1829.[15] There was a scepticism regarding the combination of Byron's poetry with ancient, relatively unknown Jewish melodies and their 'Regency'-style accompaniments. However, the first edition sold ten thousand copies in Britain and abroad.[16] Despite Nathan's unlikely choice of writing companion, and the generally anti-Semitic milieu which pervaded British thought at the time, Nathan had plugged into a musical style which populated early-nineteenth-century culture: national melodies. The art of

[11] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 98.

[12] Carole Rosen, 'Review: Lord Byron's "Hebrew Melodies": A curious episode reconsidered', *Musica Judaica* 11/1 (1989): 88.

[13] Joseph Slater, quoting an advertisement printed in the May 1813 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 'Byron's Hebrew Melodies', *Studies in Philology* 49/1 (1952): 75.

[14] Kurt Heinzelman, 'Politics, Memory, and the Lyric: Collaboration as Style in Byron's "Hebrew Melodies", *Studies in Romanticism* 27/4 (1988): 515-527.

[15] See Slater, 'Byron's Hebrew Melodies', 82 (footnote 26) for Kinnaird's critique and Nathan's retaliation, printed in his subsequent edition of *Hebrew Melodies*.

[16] Slater, 'Byron's Hebrew Melodies', 85.

combining three British fascinations of the period – 'the ancient, the sublime, and the nationalistic' – in order to subdue 'alien' or 'foreign' elements had been refined by other composers contemporary with Nathan. It is not surprising that two of his biggest critics were other successful writers of national melodies: Thomas Moore and George Thomson, the latter writing in personal correspondence that 'Jew and Christian could not possibly agree worse' than in the case of Nathan's music and Byron's poetry.[17]

As shown in this short overview and in the previous two chapters, it is impossible to discuss music published for synagogue use without also evaluating its role in the public (sacred and secular) musical sphere. It is into this context that I place the three collections featured in this chapter, since a cultural fascination juxtaposed with a suspicion of the 'Other' led to musical appropriation in the guise of 'foreign' melodies dressed up in British clothing. This appropriation, however, was carried out by both Jews and Christians, resulting in questions regarding ownership, purpose, and reception. Prior to shifting focus towards *The Music used…*, I shall therefore outline the publication and reception history of the two other collections, in order that my discussion of Verrinder's volumes can fit into – and make sense of – the forty-year hiatus between their respective appearances in the synagogue and domestic music-making market.

The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews

Of the music collections featured in this chapter, Emanuel Aguilar and David De Sola's *The Ancient Melodies* provides the fullest detail regarding publication, purpose, and content, making it a convenient starting point. It also claims to be the earliest known volume of Sephardi melodies to be printed in Britain.

A single volume, *The Ancient Melodies* divides the music for almost all religious occasions into six categories: Morning Hymns (6 melodies); Sabbath Melodies and Hymns (14); Melodies for New Year and Day of Atonement (11); Festival Hymns (9); Elegies for the Ninth Day of *Ab* (13);[18] and Occasional Hymns (7). An appendix containing De Sola's own setting of *Adon Olam* is also included. The melodies themselves were sung by De Sola as he 'heard them in Amsterdam and in this country', and notated by Aguilar.[19] De Sola's detailed Preface indicated that some of the poetic texts used in contemporary worship dated back as far as the tenth century, although he acknowledged that earlier texts existed which became lost to the Sephardi tradition, but continued to be used in Ashkenazi synagogues.[20] The melodies from this time were largely lost, but De Sola did identify a couple in the collection which he reasoned could have been composed during this period, with one other believed to

[17] Slater, 'Byron's Hebrew Melodies', 84-85.

[18] The Ninth of *Ab* is a fast day commemorating historical calamities to the Jewish people, including the destruction of the two Temples in Jerusalem.

[19] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 17.

[20] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 3.

be from 'a period anterior to the regular settlement of the Jews in Spain'.[21] In addition to being the first work 'ever published on the subject of the Sephardic Liturgy', another innovation of the volume came in the format of the music, set on treble and bass staves with each melody harmonised in three- or four-part accompaniment, with few exceptions (number 27: 'Shofet Kol Haaretz' consists of a single vocally challenging melody line following late eighteenth-century cantorial style – Example 3).[22] In most cases, Aguilar indicated the number of voices required ('solo'; 'a 4 voci'); however, almost all the 'solo' melodies are accompanied by chords or countermelodies. Aguilar – a semi-renowned pianist – wrote that 'although these melodies are, for the most part, harmonized so as to be sung in parts, they are written in the manner I have thought most convenient for playing', presumably on a keyboard instrument.[23]

Despite this innovative inclusion of harmonisations, the focus of the volume – at the time of its publication and since – has been on the melodies themselves, due to their apparent status as the earliest notated accounts in Britain of 'ancient' tunes which, according to Aguilar, 'have become so completely identified with the Spanish and Portuguese Jews'.[24] Both Aguilar and De Sola stated their aims for the collection in terms of the preservation and dispersion of traditional melodies which might otherwise have been lost. De Sola outlined the three 'principal motives' for producing the volume: 1) to unearth 'interesting specimens' from previous generations unknown to the current community; 2) to avoid further loss of the Sephardi musical heritage 'in the present age of religious indifference'; and 3) to 'assist […] public and private devotion among the widely-spread Israelitish nation'.[25] Aiming the collection at his 'co-religionists' (specifically other Sephardim) as well as other 'brethren Israelites', De Sola highlighted both the unity and disparity of a Jewish people with a shared heritage but differing practices. In fact, one review of the collection reiterated the nineteenth-century notion that the Sephardi tradition was superior to other Jewish practices, implying (perhaps cynically) that De Sola's promotion of the material was more than an attempt to save his well-loved tunes.[26] It seems that his intention was to share Sephardi melodies such that they might become absorbed into other denominational practices;

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[21] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* 12 and 16.

[22] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 1. De Sola acknowledged a prior collection published in Paris in 1854, *Receuil des Chants hebraïques ancien et modern du rit Portugais réunis et composes par Emile Jonas*, but claimed that 'a cursory view thereof suffices to satisfy any reader acquainted with the subject, that this work contains much of M. Emile Jonas, but little or nothing, "*du rit Portugais ancien*."'

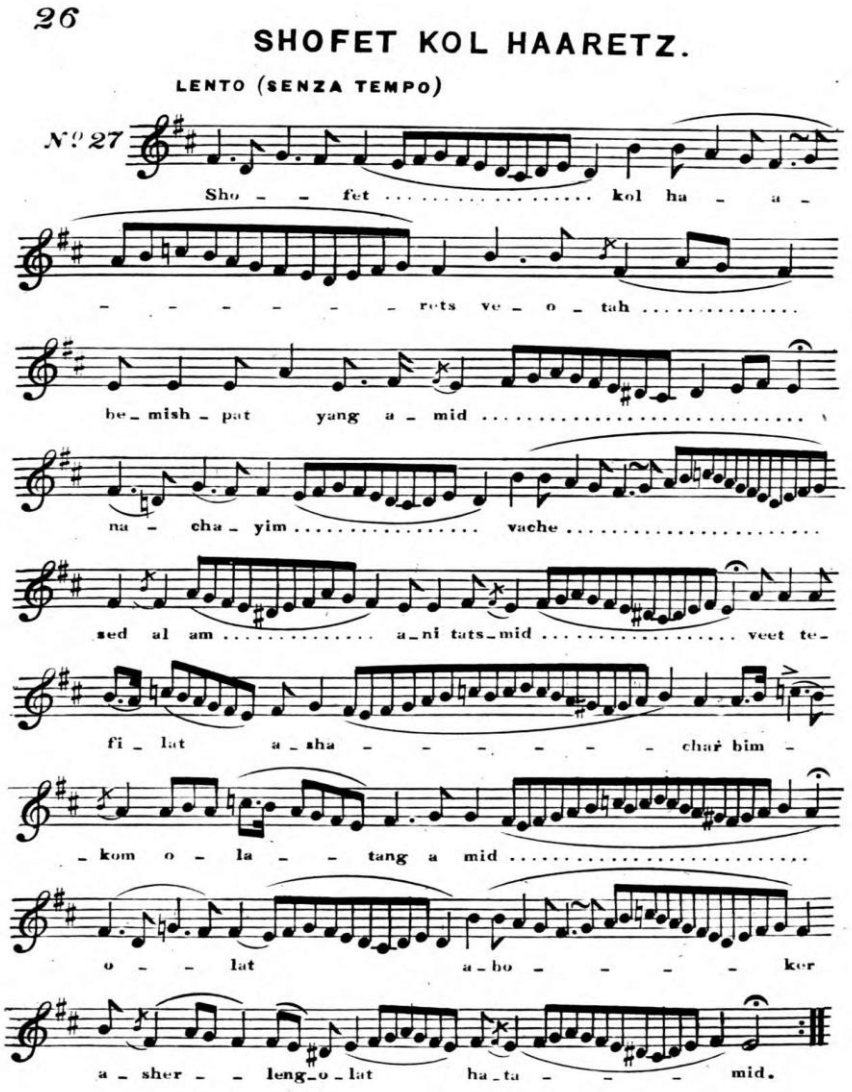
[23] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* n.p.

[24] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* n.p.

[25] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* 1.

[26] '*The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. Harmonized by Emanuel Aguilar; with an Essay on the Poets, Poetry, and Melodies of the Sephardic Liturgy. By the Rev. D. A. De Sola. Groombridge & Sons.', *Literary Gazette*, 14 November 1857. The reviewer comments: 'Nor need we add that the Sephardim retain their idea of superiority over other branches of their co-religionists, as possessing the form of worship used by the Jews in the epoch of their highest prosperity since their removal from their own land. How far this feeling is justified we are not called upon here to consider […]'.

as Cohn Zentner has identified, this was proved successful by their presence in the collections of the West London and United Synagogues. What Cohn Zentner's work does not consider in such depth, however, is the dispersion not just of the melodies, but of Aguilar's arrangements. Adopting a harmonised musical format, *The Ancient Melodies* drew the Sephardi Jewish musical past towards an Anglo-Jewish future, securing both in a notated legacy which – as will be seen across the course of this chapter – helped to shape the course of British Jewish liturgical performance.



Example 3: 'Shofet Kol Haaretz', notated by E. Aguilar. *The Ancient Melodies*.

On these terms, *The Ancient Melodies* is a vitally important collection. Prior to its publication, a series of letters in the *Jewish Chronicle* expressed enthusiasm for such a volume to 'elevat[e] the choral services of the synagogue'.[27] Furthermore, the collection's potential to contribute more than

[27] 'Our Synagogal Music', *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 January 1857. This piece contains a few relevant excerpts from the correspondence sent to the newspaper on the subject.

improved musical standards in public worship was particularly well-indicated by Elizabeth Polack from Malton, Yorkshire, who wrote:

> From the admiration and interest shown by my Christian friends here when I play and sing our ancient Jewish melodies (to which I adapt English words), I am sure such a work would sell well amongst Christians everywhere; and for ourselves, what so right and consistent as that we should humbly imitate the "sweet Psalmist of Israel," and sing the praises of God, not on the Sabbath only, but in the evening gatherings of every domestic circle?[28]

As Polack intimated, *The Ancient Melodies* had scope to interact with the surrounding non-Jewish music scene. It is difficult to know exactly how successful the volume was in this regard, particularly in terms of how it might have been used by amateur musicians along the lines of what Polack suggests – domestic music-making and parlour worship. As shall be addressed shortly, *The Ancient Melodies* did succeed in becoming renowned as an example of notated Hebrew melodies to be explored and analysed by music historians, although this was perhaps not what Aguilar specifically intended when arranging performable harmonisations. It was, however, picked up with enthusiasm in the cultural press. Reviewed in two of the most popular and influential weekly magazines, the *Literary Gazette* and the *Athenaeum*, the volume's presence would have been noted by many interested parties outside the Jewish community. Aguilar – who by the end of his career had seen reasonable success as a performer, teacher and composer – resided and worked in Frankfurt during the late 1840s; he was, therefore, likely aware of the measures taken by German synagogue musicians to curate and promote liturgical repertoire against a backdrop of changing Ashkenazi Jewish practice (and the 1845 rabbinical convention which discussed them).[29] Returning to England in 1848 to a music publishing market replete with singing manuals and hymnals for church and domestic worship, Aguilar's place on the border of sacred and secular music-making gave him an unprecedented opportunity to put his name and newly-preserved Jewish melodies on the British musical map. Arrangements which could be both played and sung adhered to the structure of contemporary Anglican hymnals, appealing to assimilated Jews whose home worship could now sound equivalent to that of their Christian neighbours. Furthermore, as De Sola hoped, the collection could be practised at home and performed during public services, doubling the opportunities for the volume to be used. De Sola also envisaged that it would 'prove generally interesting to the historian, the amateur, and archaeologist of the Musical Art'.[30] While this indicates

[28] 'Our Synagogal Music', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[29] See Chapter Two for discussions of Jewish liturgical music published in Germany, and the debates which arose surrounding the use of the organ in German synagogues.

[30] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 1.

that he also intended the volume to appeal to those outside the faith, the suggestion is that he expected the interest would be in examining rather than performing the repertoire.[31]

There is perhaps a reason why *The Ancient Melodies* is, today, principally assessed for its use of traditional melodies. While attempting to be many things for many people – home worship guide, synagogue hymnal, preserver of fading tunes and volume of historical and ethnographic study – the reality appears to be that its success in one element hindered its purpose elsewhere. As such, it remains a useful source of exploration as the first publication of its kind in England, although it is best to acknowledge it as an important work which had teething problems. Its particular novelty – keyboard instrumentation and Aguilar's use of specifically female voices in his vocal arrangements (it is specified in *Et Shaare Ratson* that a certain phrase be sung 'by the Contralto and Tenor in the Octave between the Soprano & Bass') – normalised elements of domestic music-making within the Jewish sphere, yet ironically reduced the usefulness of the collection in synagogue worship.[32] The absence of instruments and prominent female voices in most synagogues on Sabbaths and High Holydays would have, presumably, left many who used the *Ancient Melodies* at home unable to replicate their efforts in public prayer.

These practical limitations are compounded by a question of accessibility. An assumption was made that those performing the pieces at home would own the relevant prayer book. Only the first few lines of liturgy were given in most instances, leaving the tunes (and their arrangements) unperformable without the remainder of the text to hand. Aguilar indicated to the reader that texts and translations for the majority of the liturgy included in the volume could be found in De Sola's 'Prayers of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews'.[33] Unlike *The Ancient Melodies*, however, De Sola's prayer book was written in Hebrew and English rather than using transliteration, meaning that only those with a knowledge of Hebrew could participate in the singing. In addition, certain pieces in the volume required a detailed knowledge of the liturgy in order to understand the textual underlay provided.

A key example of this is 'Mizmor Shir', which comprises the text of Psalms 92 and 93 combined – although only the first verse of Psalm 92 and the final verse of Psalm 93 are provided (Example 4).[34] The title of the piece derives from Psalm 92's official title, 'Mizmor Shir Leyom Hashabbat' ('Psalm to be sung on the Sabbath Day'), and the page reference is provided for De Sola's prayer book; yet, without a clear idea of Sephardi practice, it would be challenging to discern which part of the melody should be assigned to any of the remaining verses of liturgical text – particularly in

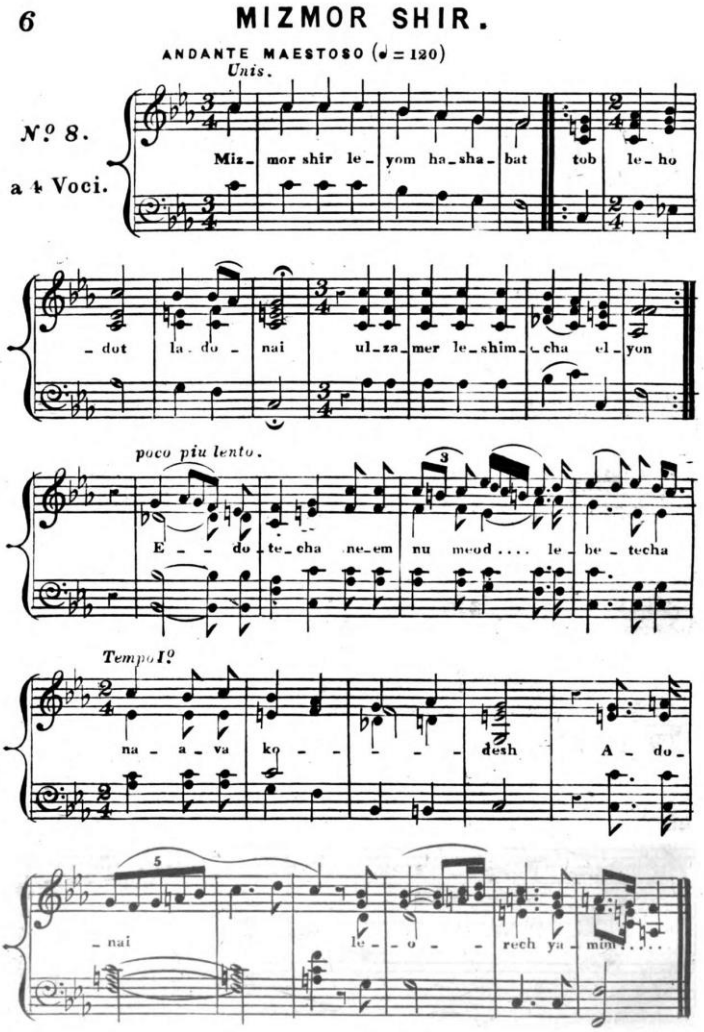
[31] See Chapter Four for a more detailed discussion of Jewish music as an object of nineteenth-century study.

[32] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 29.

[33] De Sola, *Forms of Prayer according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London: J. Wertheimer, 1836). The prayer book includes a list of 'subscribers', who presumably registered their interest in the work prior to publication. This list, which includes Aguilar and several of the Montefiore family, demonstrates its widespread adoption across the Spanish and Portuguese community.

[34] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 6.

this example where two texts adjoin.[35] De Sola's prayer book does not clarify matters in this regard. On the whole, the service order is straightforwardly outlined; there are indications for prayers to be said on entering the Synagogue, details of responses between the minister and the congregation, and the first word or two of the Hebrew text prefaces the start of each new paragraph of English, in order for the reader to match the translation with the original. However, no instructions are provided for the reciting of Psalms 92 and 93, although they follow one another in the prayer book. Furthermore, Psalm 93 has no additional title, therefore it seems unnatural (to someone unversed in Sephardi tradition) for it to be adjoined to the previous Psalm, under the same title.[36]



Example 4: 'Mizmor Shir', arranged by E. Aguilar. *The Ancient Melodies*.

[35] De Sola, *Forms of Prayer*, 69.

[36] It is only through detailed comparisons with the later publications, and through music-specific webpages associated with the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London (one of which claims to contain 'almost the entire cantorial repertoire' of the Synagogue since its foundation in 1656), that I have been able to identify the accurate melodic structure of Aguilar's 'Mizmor Shir'. More details regarding this are in a later section of this chapter.

In terms of content, the combination of ensemble pieces and obviously cantor-led solo pieces in the volume may have been easily rendered by a *chazan* like De Sola; however, the latter would have been stylistically and vocally challenging for a lesser-trained musician. This aesthetic discrepancy between heritage and present recurs in the juxtaposition between predictable harmonies (presumably deployed to point or 'make sense' of otherwise unfamiliar tunes) and what Aguilar called 'singular irregularities of rhythm' in a number of melodies. Writing almost apologetically, he attributed this 'to their dating from a period anterior to the use of *bars* in music' or 'from their composers being unacquainted with musical notation'.[37] While Aguilar did use bar demarcations in his arrangements, he also claimed that 'the utmost care has been taken to give [the melodies] in this work precisely as used for devotional purposes.' By presenting them in musical notation, however, Aguilar ensured that his work provides a reference for all future iterations of the melodies. Interestingly, the *Athenaeum* review indicated that a stricter use of metre and rhythm 'might have brought some of these melodies into a more orderly form than they wear, as at present transcribed by Mr. Aguilar', perhaps even presenting them more authentically. The reviewer was not imposing contemporary rules onto ancient melodies, but in fact responding to De Sola's own quotation from Moritz Steinschneider that old-style *chazanim* 'characterized [melodies] by a kind of recitative, having so little reference to musical time, that it spoils the ancient melodies', thus removing 'the original simplicity of the music'.[38] In particular, he singled out No. 27 of the collection, with its 'interminable *roulades*'; ironically, Aguilar would have transcribed this from De Sola's own rendition.[39] This example exemplifies the main failing of *The Ancient Melodies* – and indeed, many other collections claiming to preserve older, orally-transmitted material; that once notated, they remain fixed in time, a halfway house between 'old' and 'new'. In his attempt to update the ancient melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews for the needs of a nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish audience, while keeping the melodies themselves intact exactly as De Sola recalled them, Aguilar's collection adequately served neither the synagogue nor the domestic circle.

In light of the fact that the male-voice choir established at Bevis Marks in 1838 involved very little – probably improvised – harmonisation, Eliot Alderman questions whether Aguilar's arrangements

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[37] Aguilar and De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, n.p.; the italics are Aguilar's.

[38] '*The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. Harmonized by Emanuel Aguilar; with an Essay on the Poets, Poetry, and Melodies of the Sephardic Liturgy. By the Rev. D. A. De Sola. Wessel & Co.', *Athenaeum*, 9 January 1858. Moritz Steinschneider was an Austrian Jewish academic with a particular interest in Jewish bibliography. See Isidore Singer, 'Steinschneider, Moritz', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 20 August 2019) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14019-steinschneider-moritz.

[39] '*The Ancient Melodies*', *Athenaeum*. The use of an operatic term in relation to 'traditional' Jewish repertoire was common, as we shall see in Francis Cohen's comments made in 1887. It is worth repeating that *chazanim* now received extensive cantorial training, with vocal technique often dominating the need for knowledge of Jewish practice. Furthermore, a number of trained *chazanim* – such as Leon and Braham – ultimately had success on the operatic stage, Leon especially becoming renowned for his skills in vocal ornamentation.

were ever actually used there.[40] Indeed, I have not found evidence for the volume's reception within the Victorian Jewish community. Perhaps the two press reviews indicated the true success of the volume; that – in premonition of its future status – *The Ancient Melodies* was best suited to academic study. The emphasis in both reviews was De Sola's account of the origins of the melodies and (more significantly) the hymns and poems set to music. Second to this was the brief mention of the melodies themselves, which were treated in the typical style of the time, with comparisons drawn between those and more 'modern' airs, and surprise acknowledged when certain melodies – including that considered the most ancient, number 12 of the collection (said to be sung by Miriam and Moses while crossing the Red Sea during the exodus from Egypt) – adhered to a 'regular' metre.[41] A rather cryptic claim in the *Literary Gazette* stated that '[i]t would be impossible to give any idea of the nature or style of the Sephardic melodies by mere description, but the harmonies arranged by Mr. Aguilar may direct the attention of musicians to the subject'.[42] This claim perhaps confirms my sense that Aguilar's harmonies provided an accessible means of approaching the ancient melodies for the Victorian scholar and enthusiast of music more so than for the assimilated British Jew. Other than this, Aguilar's arrangements were scarcely commented upon, other than in the form of accusations of dubious harmonisation, rhythmic and metrical inconsistencies, and conflicting musical style by the *Athenaeum* reviewer. The critical response to the arrangements matches my analysis that they were indeed much more suited 'for playing' than for singing 'in parts' – another feature detrimental to the volume's use as a guide for home practice. In general, they seem to provide basic support for the melodies, rather than act as an intrinsic part of each piece – many of the lower voices rhythmically and harmonically feel vocally limiting. A number of the pieces recommended for three or more voices involve alto and tenor lines which hop across staves; music written for '4 voci' ends on a five- or six-note chord, perhaps even indicating that instrumental accompaniment is required to support the voices.[43] Many examples assigned to 'solo and chorus' give little indication of the number of parts to be sung by the latter, or whether the soloist continues to sing with vocal accompaniment.[44] Once again, Aguilar's arrangements fall short of expectations; in a society increasingly focused on the performance, study and appreciation of high-quality or historically interesting music, only the melodies themselves hold the audience's curiosity.

Notwithstanding the comments above, *The Ancient Melodies* remains well-known for its contribution to the preservation of Sephardi traditional tunes, with many Jewish music specialists from across the world citing the collection in their studies of such melodies which can be traced (in fragments,

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[40] Eliot Alderman, 'Echoes of Iberia: The Music of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London', presented at 'Magnified and Sanctified: The Music of Jewish Prayer' (Leeds University, 2015).

[41] '*The Ancient Melodies*', *Athenaeum*.

[42] '*The Ancient Melodies*', *Literary Gazette*.

[43] For example, 'Leshoni Bonanta', *The Ancient Melodies*, 41-42.

[44] *The Ancient Melodies*, 32 ('Ana Bekorenu'). See also 37 ('Hallel'), where the 'chorus' writing incorporates a 2.5-octave gap between the tenor and alto lines on entry in a much more obviously keyboard style.

if not in total) through a number of folk and religious musical sources from all nations and periods. Moreover, as will become clear in the remainder of this chapter, both the melodies and Aguilar's arrangements had an impact on later synagogue music collections published in Britain during the century.

Kol Rinnah V'Todah: The Voice of Prayer and Praise (The 'Blue Book')

The most popular of the three principal collections of Victorian Jewish liturgical music, *Kol Rinnah V'Todah: The Voice of Prayer and Praise* is widely known today as the 'Blue Book' due to the colour of its cover. This volume still forms the basis of the choral tradition found in synagogues across Britain, transcending even denominational differences. Originally conceived in the late 1880s as a *Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing*, the 'Blue Book' appeared in 1899 as an expansion of its predecessor and using its name as a subtitle.[45] It included short score, four-part arrangements of liturgical texts spanning the Sabbath, morning and evening services, High Holydays, Festivals, marriage and funeral services, and even national occasions (a harmonised arrangement of 'God save the Queen' is found at the end of the book). For key liturgical texts, several different settings are provided – many claiming to be 'traditional' tunes, others composed or arranged by renowned synagogue musicians such as Lewandowski, Sulzer, Mombach and Naumbourg. There are also a handful of melodies lifted from works by composers such as Mendelssohn and Beethoven.

The Preface to the first edition makes it clear that, in line with the 1889 *Handbook*, the volume was for use principally for worship across all United synagogues, but that it would also be helpful to domestic practice in order to promote 'congregational singing'. This official attempt at moving away from a cantor-focussed musical service, inspired by criticisms along the lines of De Sola's in *The Ancient Melodies*, was anticipated in a number of music-related discussions in the *Jewish Chronicle* in the early- to mid-1890s. These varied between debates surrounding the use of traditional Jewish melodies, the adoption of instrumental music in the synagogue, and choral versus cantorial singing; contributions came from members of different denominations, leading rabbis and ministers and, occasionally, Verrinder or Cohen themselves. Only two years prior to the publication of the *Handbook*, Cohen, like De Sola, had publicly dismissed recent attempts at *chazanut*. In his presentation on synagogue music given at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887, Cohen was vituperative about the *chazanim* of nineteenth-century Britain who '[d]evoid of the inborn artistic taste of the Polish Hazan… would force their voices to excess, give forth terrible cries in pathetic passages, and drone on with nasal twang an aimless, formless chant, full of turns, runs, and embroideries innumerable'.[46] In a

[45] F. L. Cohen and B. L. Moseley, *A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1889).

[46] F. L. Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London. 1887* (London: Office of the *Jewish Chronicle*, 1888), 132. This

conversation featured in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1896, Cohen admitted that the 'Blue Book' was already in production, satisfying a reader who had requested that a 'Committee of Jewish Scholars' put together a hymnology incorporating key liturgy set to traditional melodies.[47] In this same letter, Cohen stated that he and Davis were assisted in their efforts by the United Synagogue's own Choir Committee, demonstrating that choral singing was, by the 1890s, a standard part of United Synagogue practice, and that the entire body had agreed to adopt the same material. This placed Cohen and Davis in a powerful position to promote their own repertoire and arrangements, as well as those of composers whose melodies were considered appropriate for inclusion in the collection, to the majority of the Anglo-Jewish population.

Despite Cohen's activity as a Jewish music historian, through which he gave lectures promoting the music of the synagogue to both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences (about which more in Chapter Four), there is no indication that the 'Blue Book' was intended to be shared beyond the Jewish community; neither is there a strong sense (as found in De Sola's essay, or in the *Jewish Chronicle* correspondence) that the collection was needed to rescue or preserve ancient melodies. In fact, despite continuing letters to the Jewish press regarding poor attendance in synagogues, little mention is made in the Preface of the fact that the 'Blue Book', like the Aguilar collection, might make services more accessible to congregants whose knowledge of Hebrew liturgy was increasingly limited. Along with references to the Choir Committee, mention of the employment of choirboys in the United Synagogue indicates that choral music was already a regular feature. However, Cohen ensured that his volume reached beyond the choir stalls by including tonic sol-fa notation, in order that schoolchildren (and many of the choirboys) who learned music in this way could also read the soprano and alto lines. The Preface concluded with a quotation from Psalm 148 – 'young men and maidens also, old men and children together, shall laud the Name of the Eternal' – to reiterate the point that the United Synagogue expected all their congregants to study the volume, not just the choristers.[48] This followed an instruction that 'the Music as well as the Text must necessarily be in the hands of every worshipper who would wish to take a seemly part in the singing', encouraging all congregants to have the volume on hand during services, alongside their regular prayer books. In the 'Note to the Second Edition' (published in 1914), mention was made of 'Congregational […] singing classes'. It was not anticipated, however, that the harmonies in the volume would be sung by anyone other than the choir. Like the Aguilar collection, 'the four vocal parts were printed in "compressed score," to facilitate accompaniment on the organ or pianoforte in the choir-room or domestic circle'.[49] Once again, it appears that it was expected

presentation featured musical examples written and arranged by Verrinder, and performed by the choir of the West London Synagogue with Verrinder at the organ (more on this in Chapter Four).

[47] 'The need of "Jewish" Hymns', *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 August 1896.

[48] Cohen and Davis, *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*, viii.

[49] Cohen and Davis, *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*, vi.

that this music would be performed in a number of contexts, with a variety of forces, and by both experienced and novice musicians.

The *Jewish Chronicle* printed an extremely complimentary review of the collection by 'J. F. S.' in August 1899, which praised the content, format and accessibility of the 'Blue Book'. Unsurprisingly for a newspaper which – by the 1890s – principally represented the United Synagogue community, acknowledgement of previous collections of music was overlooked, to the extent that the 'Blue Book' was commended as 'the authorised musical companion to the Daily and Festival Prayer Book of the Anglo-Jewish community', paying little heed to both the Sephardi and Reform collections which preceded it. It was noted that the collection was indispensable 'to every Chazan and Choirmaster desirous of producing well ordered services [and] to every congregant who would heartily join in the service of prayer and praise'. Perhaps most significant in the lead up to discussion of Verrinder's *The Music used…*, however, is the comment made about the volume's contributors:

> [t]o enumerate those whose compositions are included in the compilation would be to give a list of all who have at any time consecrated their gift of song to the service of the synagogue. The work is thoroughly representative of Anglo-Jewish composers, and of the great masters who have inspired them.[50]

This phrase highlights the continued dissociation between Orthodox and Reform, and between those who 'belong' and those who are 'Other'. In this instance, Verrinder's dual 'otherness' – both as an Anglican and as someone so closely connected to the West London Synagogue – separated him from the implied pool of 'Anglo-Jewish' composers whose contribution to contemporary synagogue music-making made them worthy of inclusion in this collection. Ironically, Verrinder had previously been acknowledged in the 1889 volume 'for his harmonisation of the traditional pieces published in the book of [the West London Synagogue]'; similarly, De Sola and Aguilar's *The Ancient Melodies* was 'consulted with advantage'.[51] However, while a number of their arrangements remain in the 'Blue Book', acknowledgement of their contribution is absent. The reality of the amount of 'borrowing' which can be seen in the 'Blue Book' – as I shall discuss in due course – undermines claims of its novelty. While the review does acknowledge a collaborative approach to the compilation, the convenient forgetting of previous British synagogue music publications – and their community's desires for such publications – erases a forty-year cultivation of Anglo-Jewish music.

Following initial publication, several editions of the 'Blue Book' were printed during the first half of the twentieth century. A sixty-four-page supplement was added to the third edition in 1933, in which Verrinder's setting of Psalm 121 was printed, harmonically amended by Samuel Alman but

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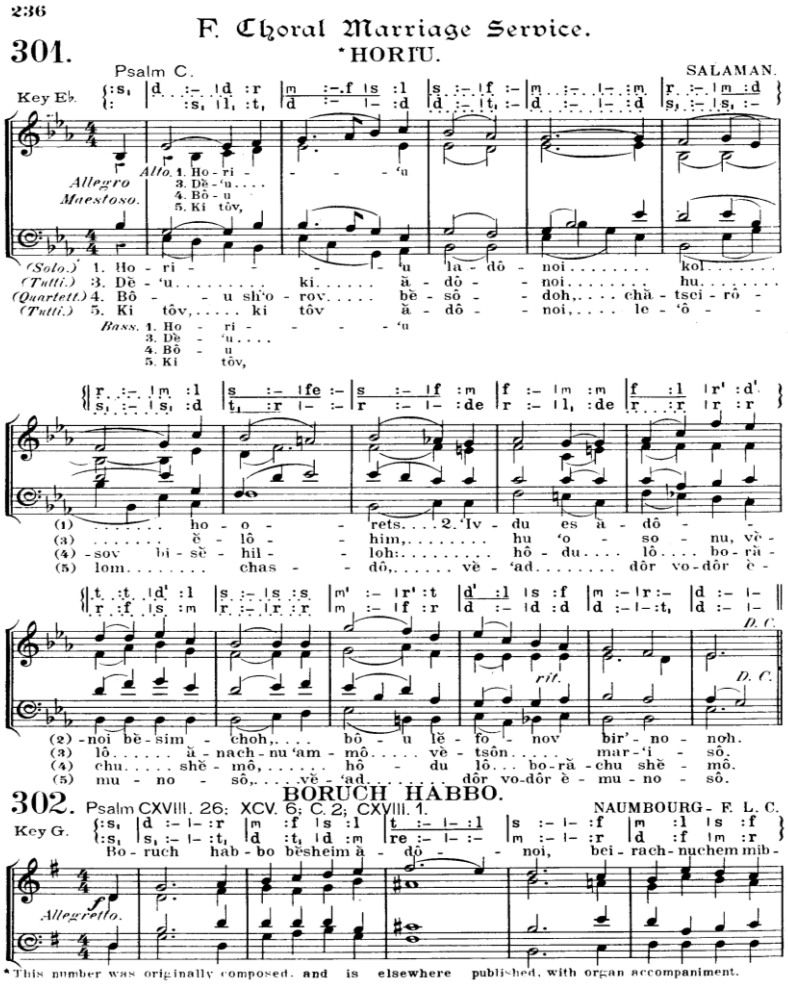
[50] 'The New Handbook of Synagogue Music', *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 August 1899.

[51] Cohen and Moseley, *A Handbook of Synagogue Music*, xi.

acknowledging Verrinder as the original composer. Other than this and a few minor corrections, very little changed between one edition and the next. Given its extensive remit, it is easy to see why the 'Blue Book' has retained popularity as the anthology of choice for synagogues wishing to uphold a traditional choral service. As a single volume with clearly-marked page and song numbers, predominantly displayed in service order, it has acquired a somewhat hallowed reputation across the British (and wider) synagogue music world despite its occasionally busy and confusing layout, particularly for pieces containing multiple verses (Example 5 – note the asterisk indicating that Salaman's composition had been published 'elsewhere'). Due to its origins in the United Synagogue, it was intended for performance by male voices only, at least in a synagogue setting; however, the arrangements can be easily rendered by mixed-voice choirs, hence its attraction to non-Orthodox congregations. The mass appeal for which Aguilar, De Sola and Verrinder appeared to hope was finally achieved by the 'Blue Book', but without its predecessors across decades and denominations, its success may not have been possible.



Example 5: Psalm 100, 'Horiu', composed by C. K. Salaman. The 'Blue Book'

A Forty-Year History: The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews

While many questions remain around the publication history of *The Music used…*, my current conclusions about the collection's genealogy have been achieved through piecing together small observations. Comprising six separate volumes, it is one of the most extensive collections of Jewish liturgical melodies from the nineteenth century. Unlike either of the two other publications featured so far, there is no preface or introduction to explain its purpose. However, the explicit title and layout of each volume indicates that they were compiled specifically for services. The most readily available complete set, found in the British Library, bears the following titles:

> 1. The Music used in the services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Principally Composed & Collected, and adapted by Charles Salaman. The Ancient Melodies harmonised and the whole Arranged with Obbligato Organ Accompaniments, and edited by C. G. Verrinder. Mus: Doc:
>
> 2. The Music used in the services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Service in G. composed by C. G. Verrinder. The Ancient Melodies harmonized and the whole Arranged with Obbligato Organ Accompaniments, and edited by C. G. Verrinder. Mus: Doc:
>
> 3. West London Synagogue of British Jews. Jubilee Music for the Special Service to be held on January 27th 1892. Composed & Adapted by Dr. C. G. Verrinder.
>
> 4. West London Synagogue of British Jews. The Day of Memorial New Year. Compiled by Mr. Charles Kensington Salaman. Re-arranged & Edited by Dr. C. G. Verrinder.
>
> 5. West London Synagogue of British Jews. The Day of Atonement. Compiled by Mr. Charles Kensington Salaman. Re-arranged & Edited by Dr. C. G. Verrinder.
>
> 6. West London Synagogue of British Jews. The Day of Atonement. Compiled by Mr. Charles Kensington Salaman. Re-arranged & Edited by Dr. C. G. Verrinder.

The pieces in each volume are placed in service order (with reference to prayer book page numbers in the top corners), and there are numerous repetitions to account for melodies sung more than once, within and across each volume. As well as the numerous 'ancient melodies' harmonised and arranged with organ accompaniment by Verrinder, more recent and newly-composed repertoire is particularly notable

in Volumes 2 and 4, which include Verrinder's full services 'in G' and 'in E' respectively. More importantly, it is the first collection of Anglo-Jewish liturgical music to be written explicitly for choir with organ accompaniment. While the organ writing is less relevant for this chapter, due to the unique position held by the West London Synagogue on instrumental music in worship, *The Music used…* was nonetheless the first collection of Anglo-Jewish choral liturgy of the style we associate with British nineteenth-century sacred music.

It is worth keeping this in mind when considering the chronological anomalies which have haunted *The Music used…* throughout its history. Indeed, the most regularly misrepresented information is the point at which *The Music used…* first appeared in print. Based on my research, I have concluded that the six volumes were initially published in the following formats:

Volume 1 (Addison, Hollier and Lucas; 1861)

Volumes 1 and 2 bound separately (Lamborn Cock; 1870 – reprinted 1881)

Volumes 1, 2 and 3 bound separately (Novello; before and/or during 1891)

Volumes 4, 5 and 6 (Novello; between 1892 and 1897)

In musicological study, however, only two dates are cited, depending on from which library the volumes have been sourced. The Jubilee volume of 1892 provides the only certain date for the collection, which has subsequently been assumed for the full set by researchers and library catalogues internationally. Knapp and Cohn Zentner attribute 1892 and 1880 respectively to the Novello editions, and Cohn Zentner refers to the collection as the 'Reform hymnal', adopting the name of the Synagogue's 1938 publication.[52] This is despite indications of earlier publication dates in the West London Synagogue archives, which highlight the existence of musical volumes during the 1860s and 70s and prove that the early volumes were published years apart. Cohn Zentner further claims that the full six-volume set was published in 1880, which is not possible given that Volume 3 was published in 1892 – presumably, given the title of the volume, 'Jubilee Music for the Special Service *to be held* on January 27th 1892' (my italics), it was published in advance of the service.[53]

One of the most accurate chronological representations to date appears in Rabbi Dr Barbara Borts' doctoral dissertation, which provides a recent account of Reform Synagogue music across its British history. Borts regularly cites the West London Synagogue archival sources in her exploration of likely practices in its early period, and acknowledges that the six volumes of *The Music used…* were

[52] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 100 (plates 15 and 16 are mistitled, showing Verrinder's arrangement under the 'Blue Book' title, and vice versa. The 1892 date is also shown tentatively in square brackets in footnote 64); 'The Influence of German Music', 197 (footnote 43 – Knapp states that the publication date 'is likely to have been 1892'); Cohn Zentner, 'Sephardic Influences', 59 (footnote 133).

[53] Cohn Zentner also refers to the volumes being 'compiled' in 1880; 'Sephardic Influences', ii.

compiled 'between 1861 and 1892', presumably basing the first date on archival sources in which the editing process is described (although a document from 1859 indicates that a preliminary volume was shortly due to be compiled by Salaman and printed in two layouts – one appropriate for the organist, another for the choristers).[54] Borts also cites the 1870 documents which discuss the merits of publishing a second volume.[55] A letter from Verrinder from 8 June 1868 indicates that a volume of High Holydays music had been printed in 1859, but that so many 'additions and alterations' had been made to the organ books for the Festival volumes ('more especially in the service for the "Day of Atonement"') that they needed re-copying.[56] Subsequently, we cannot be sure that the existing volumes correspond to the originals, although it seems likely that these were not published for official use until later in the century.

Further proof that a first edition of *The Music used…* was published in the middle of the nineteenth century is found in a review in the *Athenaeum* of Volume 1, published by 'Addison & Co'.[57] The content of this review is illuminating, particularly in contrast with the review of Aguilar's *The Ancient Melodies*, printed three years earlier. In fact, the reviewer refers to Aguilar and De Sola's volume, commenting on the remarkably Western nature of some of the ancient melodies, which contain 'no peculiarities of form or interval to distinguish them from such sacred airs as a Mozart or a Mendelssohn might write for the uses of the temple belonging to any creed'.[58] However, he seems particularly impressed with the inclusion in *The Music used…* of 'compositions of to-day' as well as melodies 'reputed to be more ancient in date than the First Temple', commending Salaman for his compositions which are on occasion 'almost secular […] without, however, being chargeable with frivolity'.[59] It is this combination of old and new which, according to the reviewer, deemed the publication 'of more than common interest.' Perhaps the most apt phrase of the piece demonstrates the reviewer's sympathies with the desire to update Jewish liturgical music: 'We have always held with those who allow Music in worship to avail itself of the materials of its time; and this on principle no less than on tradition […] those who limit the language of adoration to this or the other century, voluntarily imprison themselves with the sepulchral walls of a ruin […]'. This opinion strongly echoes the sentiments expressed by David Woolf Marks in his inauguration sermon, and goes against many other critiques of recently composed Jewish music.[60] That an outside opinion should adhere so closely

[54] Barbara Borts, 'Mouths filled with song: British Reform Judaism through the lens of its music', (PhD diss., Durham University, 2014), 50. See also MS 140 AJ 175 131/5, November 1859, 12 February 1861 and 3 May 1861.

[55] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 August 1870. See Chapter Two for my discussion of this letter.

[56] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 June 1868. Salaman's letter from 12 February 1861 (MS 140 AJ 175 131/15) also suggests that he anticipated the publication of a volume of music for 'our Fast & Festivals'.

[57] 'Services', *Athenaeum*, 3 August 1861.

[58] 'Services', *Athenaeum*, 3 August 1861.

[59] 'Services', *Athenaeum*.

[60] Interestingly, it is possible that the reviews of both *The Music used…* and *The Ancient Melodies* were written by Henry Fothergill Chorley, whose less positive response to Jewish music is in Chapter Four. See also Robert

to Reform ideals is a triumphant demonstration of the West London Synagogue's success in creating an identity as British as it is Jewish. Despite its oversights – which include an indication that the reviewer was unaware of the denominational distinctions in the Anglo-Jewish community, and of its recent musical history – the *Athenaeum* review provides clear evidence that Volume 1 of *The Music used…* was indeed published for the first time in 1861.

While knowledge of *The Music used…*'s earliest publication date was helpful in itself, it was only on unearthing a first edition among the uncatalogued music in the Cambridge University Library that the full implications for understanding the collection's precise history became clear.[61] Further investigation of online catalogues identified one other identical copy of Volume 1 in the Royal Music Library of Denmark, remarkably signed 'M. Goldschmidt, Esq., from his friend, Charles K. Salaman, London, May 7 1868'. The biggest clue that these are two of the earliest copies is the name of the publisher, Addison, Hollier & Lucas, which only existed under this name until 1863, and which ties in with the name given in the *Athenaeum*.[62] Another significant indication is that Verrinder's name is given without either of the post-nominals 'Mus:Bac' or 'Mus:Bac:Oxon', which he reliably used in his publications and correspondence upon receiving his degree from Oxford in June 1862 (this got promoted to the use of 'Dr.' or 'Mus.Doc.' after he was awarded the Lambeth Degree in 1873). Other details include Verrinder's address (from which one could request a copy of the volume), which is listed as 22 University Street, London and where he resided until 1865, and the disparity between the first edition of Volume 1 and later ones regarding the page numbers for the West London Synagogue's daily prayer book, *Seder Ha'tefillot*.[63] Of the four editions of 'Daily, Sabbath, and occasional prayers', published for the West London Synagogue in 1841, 1856, 1870, and 1882 respectively, the Cambridge volume corresponds to the 1856 edition in terms of page references.

It is interesting that the first edition of Volume 1 in Cambridge, as well as the *Athenaeum* review, acknowledge that this is indeed 'Vol. 1'; in other words, a second volume was expected. It took a further nine years for this to appear. A two-volume collection of *The Music used…* is held at University College London, published by Lamborn Cock. An assessment of similar details to those used to date the first edition in Cambridge (Verrinder's post-nominals – here Mus:Bac:Oxon; his address – Westbourne Park Crescent, where he lived between 1868 and 1871; and the fact that Lamborn Cock, which had absorbed Addison & Co., worked under this name until 1870), indicates that this was first

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Bledsoe, 'Henry Fothergill Chorley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (accessed 7 June 2020) https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5350.

[61] I am grateful to Anna Pensaert and the librarians in the Anderson Room of the Cambridge University Library for their assistance in finding this volume, which was filed somewhat ambiguously under 'Music' in an uncatalogued donated collection. No other volumes have yet been discovered in the University's music collections.

[62] Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1820 – 1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

[63] David Woolf Marks, *Seder Ha'tefillot: Forms of Prayer used in the West London Synagogue of British Jews, with English translation* (London: J. Wertheimer, 1841).

published in or around 1870. A letter from Verrinder to the wardens of the West London Synagogue in December 1870 acknowledged his role in 'editing and superintending the publication of the 2nd Volume of Synagogue music'.[64] While a publication date is not given, nor do any reviews appear to exist, the 1873 published edition of Verrinder's sacred cantata, *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance*, shows that a two-volume set had already been published:

> "Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern," as used in the Services of the West London Synagogue, arranged for four voices, with obbligato Organ Accompaniments, including a complete Service by Dr. Verrinder, and other compositions by Salaman, Waley, &c. 2 Vols., 10s. 6d. each. (Lamborn Cock.)[65]

This two-volume set incorporated a second edition of Volume 1 and a newly published edition of Volume 2. It would appear that this set was reprinted (or at least rebound) in 1881, possibly as a one-off, and left to University College, London as part of the Mocatta Library collection in 1906.[66] While this date most closely matches that assigned to the volumes by many library catalogues (including UCL's own), these volumes are not the mysterious 1880 set claimed to be used by many researchers, as they are also Lamborn Cock editions. In fact, the organ directions in Volume 1 of this set more closely follow those in the first edition held in the Cambridge University Library, indicating that they were likely compiled just prior to the move to Upper Berkeley Street. Occasionally, exploration of the organ directions does shed light on the age of certain pieces within the volumes, or help to identify where changes were made to accommodate the potential of the larger instrument. An example of such a variation included a switch from 'swell diapason' to 'choir diapason' in the setting of 'Adonai Malach' between the 1870 edition of Volume 1 and later editions for which the choir manual was readily available. The use of the 'Vox Humana' stop on the solo organ manual in the 'Yigdal' setting in Volume 4 also confirms that this piece in particular was written after the manual was added to the organ in 1890. This approach brings about inconsistent results, however, as in many cases the organ directions remained unchanged, although the sound produced would have been quite different on the later and larger instrument. A question also remains as to why certain pieces merited change to the organ

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[64] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 December 1870.

[65] C. K. Salaman and C. G. Verrinder, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews* (London: Lamborn Cock, 1870).

[66] Frederic David Mocatta left his extensive collection to UCL; much of it was destroyed by a bomb in 1940 and replaced through donations in subsequent years. See Vanessa Freedman, Dalia Maoz-Michaels and Peter Salinger, 'Uncovering UCL's Jewish Pamphlet Collections', UCL Library Newsletter Issue 38 (accessed 14 August 2019) (https://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/about-us/newsletter/issue-38). A catalogue of Mocatta's library published in 1904 lists Volume 1 of *The Music used…*, with a publication date of 1881 in square brackets, perhaps indicating that this date is not certain; it is unclear why Volume 2 is not listed, unless it was added at a later date. See Reginald Arthur Rye, *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts forming the Library of Frederic David Mocatta, Esq.* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1904), 430.

directions, yet others (such as Verrinder's ambitious setting of Psalm 150 in Volume 2) were not amended to take advantage of greater musical variety.

Aside from the organ accompaniments, a handful of further sources contribute to solidifying the chronological publication of the West London Synagogue volumes. The first – a *Jewish Chronicle* report of the Synagogue's Jubilee ceremony in 1892 – states that '[t]hree volumes of the Synagogue Music are published by Novello and Co.'[67] This confirms that the third, Jubilee, volume of *The Music used…* was in fact published prior to the service itself. It is perhaps a safe assumption that Volumes 1 to 3 were published by Novello simultaneously, in anticipation of the Jubilee service. There is also a small chance that the 'three volumes' could in fact include Verrinder's mysterious Psalter, rather than the Jubilee volume; this would tally with James D. Brown's *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, which also lists only three volumes of 'Hebrew music and psalms' but, published in 1886, can only refer to the Volumes 1 and 2 and the Psalter.[68] Interestingly, an entry for Verrinder can be found in Brown and Stratton's 1897 *British Musical Biography*, which refers to seven volumes of the same 'Hebrew music and psalms'.[69] The following year, E. E. Dorling's *Register of Old Choristers of Salisbury Cathedral*, in addition to mentioning Verrinder's '"Hebrew Psalter" pointed for Anglican Chants' (see Chapter Two), refers to six volumes of 'Ancient and Modern Hebrew Melodies'.[70] Whether or not the pre-Jubilee references include the Psalter as one of the three volumes of Verrinder's music for the synagogue, these sources in combination indicate the publication – between 1892 and 1897 – of the three additional volumes of *The Music used…*. This does not account for volumes of High Holyday music which were compiled in the late 1850s or early 1860s, but which are no longer in existence. However, the combination of contemporary correspondence, reviews, and advertisements, in collaboration with the volumes available today, indicates that the collections listed above were the only ones published for wider distribution. It is interesting also that the biographical sources highlight Verrinder's intention that the volumes should reach a broader audience. This is reflected in the titles used in these sources, which – like the Lamborn Cock advertisement above – refer principally to Verrinder's collection of 'Hebrew' music, rather than music specific to the West London Synagogue.

The continued piecemeal publication of Verrinder's volumes well into the 1890s perhaps explains the variation with which they have been collected and bound over time (see Appendix 3). It also explains why the Jubilee volume was placed in the middle of what would otherwise be an uninterrupted set of music for Sabbaths, Festivals and High Holydays. An oddity in the British Library

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[67] *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 January 1892.

[68] James D. Brown, 'Verrinder (Charles Garland)', *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians: with a Bibliography of English writings on Music* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1886), 601.

[69] James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography: A Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers, born in Britain and its Colonies* (Derby: Chadfield and Son, Ltd., 1897), 423.

[70] E. Dorling, *Register of Old Choristers of Salisbury Cathedral, 1810-1897* (London: Alexander & Shepheard, 1898), 5.

edition is the insertion in Volume 5 of a handwritten setting of 'Adonai El Rachum' by Verrinder's successor, Percy Rideout. These pages are numbered 219 and 220; however, the following two pages, comprising Verrinder's own setting of the same liturgy, are also numbered 219 and 220. It seems odd that Rideout would have chosen to add just one of his own compositions to an existing volume. Whatever the reason behind it, however, the inclusion of Rideout's piece indicates that these volumes were compiled – or at least bound – after Verrinder's death in 1904, but before the volumes were donated to the British Museum in 1908.

Given this detailed chronological information, perhaps the biggest task is to assess its significance within the context of musical material published for synagogue use. While we cannot be sure of the true reason for the publication of *The Music used…* other than for use in services, its more widespread availability (as advertised in the *Athenaeum*) indicates that Verrinder intended the volume for adoption in other synagogues, if not in domestic settings. As such, its earliest publication shortly following *The Ancient Melodies* suggests both a rivalry with Bevis Marks and a desire to introduce a volume of specifically Anglo-Jewish choral repertoire to a wide audience, demonstrating the West London Synagogue's high musical standards and adherence to British cultural values. As significant to its closeness to *The Ancient Melodies* is its pre-dating the 1899 'Blue Book' by almost three decades. Although the latter had a precursor published in 1889, Verrinder's earliest synagogue publication still pre-existed it by over twenty years. This is vastly different to the understood chronology which has thus far prevailed in recent Jewish music scholarship.

The irony of *The Music used…* is that, despite its numerous volumes, editions and bindings, there is very little difference in content between them. However, it is only by looking at the few discrepancies that I have been able to trace the West London Synagogue's musical development across Verrinder's career, and compare this with similar (or otherwise) patterns in the institutions represented by *The Ancient Melodies* and the 'Blue Book'. In fact, one of the major changes between the first and second volume not only reinforces the notion that the two were published many years apart, but also establishes that some of the repertoire in later volumes was written and arranged prior to 1865. As indicated in the previous chapter, this was the year that female singers were included in the choir for the first time on a regular basis. Assumedly in response to this, much of Verrinder's new repertoire contained in Volume 2 was written specifically for 'Contralto', rather than 'Alto' (which remained a term used in pieces shared with the previous volume). Repertoire for Alto voice which appeared for the first time in later volumes may also, therefore, be dated to these early years, making their accepted dates of publication, even if accurate to the edition cited, significantly at odds with their original date of composition or arrangement.

	Total Number of Pieces	% Alto	% Contralto	% N/A
Volume 1	47	100	0	0
Volume 2	71	49	21	30
Volume 3	26	19	50	31
Volume 4	45	18	76	6
Volume 5	105	14	51	35
Volume 6	25	4	72	24

Figure 7: Table showing the percentage of Alto and Contralto settings in *The Music used....*

Figure 7 shows a breakdown of the number of 'Alto' versus 'Contralto' pieces per volume (based on the British Library Novello volumes), while Figure 8 contains a list of pieces written for 'Alto' found for the first time in Volumes 2 to 6. In general, there is an increase in the percentage of pieces written specifically for Contralto from the first to the last volume, and a definite decrease in pieces written for Alto (the 'N/A' category refers to pieces where the voice parts are not specified, although many can be inferred by their context – for instance, if they are part of a larger group of pieces relating to the same liturgical text).[71] Very few pieces written for Alto feature for the first time beyond Volume 2, although several from Volumes 1 and 2 are repeated in later volumes. Interestingly, a number of Verrinder's arrangements of pieces by Sulzer – from his 1838 collection *Schir Zion I* – are among those seemingly written prior to 1865 but not printed in the first volume of music, as well as two from Samuel Naumbourg's 1864 *Zemirot Yisrael*. We can thus trace Verrinder's arrangements of Naumbourg's music to a very specific time period (between 1864 and 1865), and conclude from this information that Verrinder was one of the earliest musicians to introduce the French composer's repertoire formally to the British synagogue. The presence of Sulzer's repertoire, albeit published thirty years previously, is a further indication of Verrinder's innovation; where the 'Blue Book' printed a version of Sulzer's 'Mi Addir' in 1899 (one of two pieces of Sulzer's to be in both this and Verrinder's volumes), it bore strikingly more harmonic resemblance to Verrinder's circa 1859-1865 arrangement than Sulzer's original (see Examples 6a-c).[72]

[71] Verrinder's setting of Psalm 150 ('Halleluyah') found in Volume 2 indicates that either 'Alti or Contralti' may sing the second line. A review in the *Orchestra* of the West London Synagogue's confirmation service in July 1864 indicates that this piece was composed specifically for that occasion. As female singers often assisted at events prior to 1865 which did not coincide with Sabbaths and High Holydays, this composition is likely the first which Verrinder composed specifically with female voices in mind.

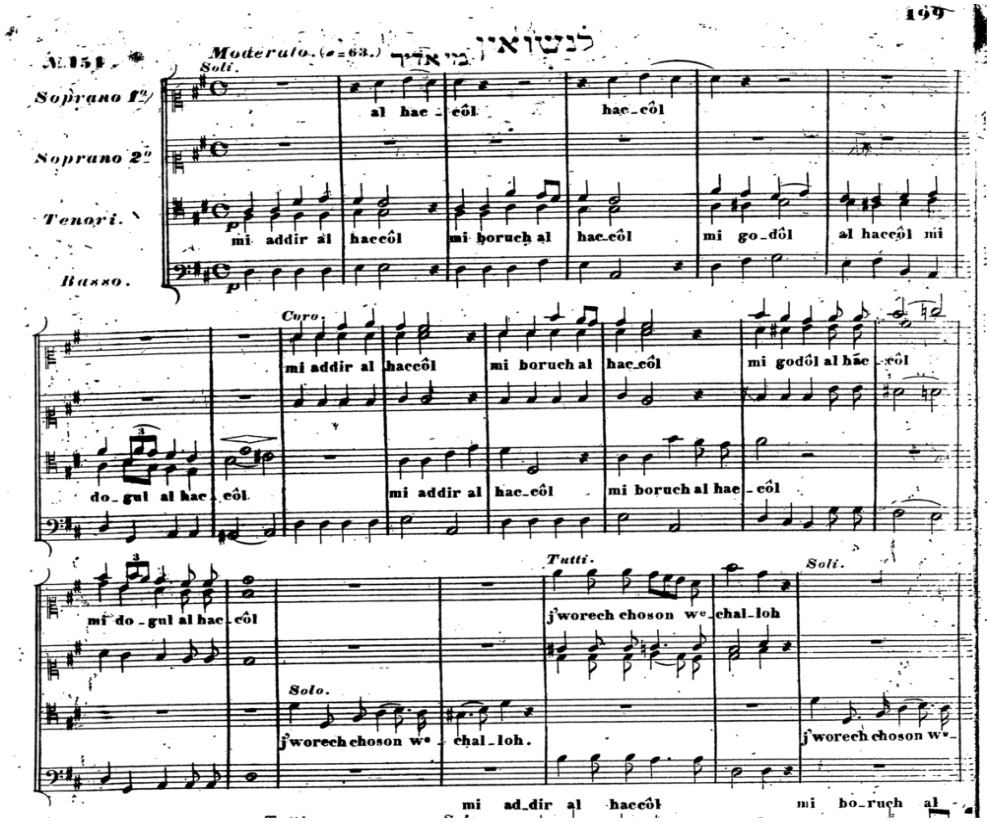
[72] The other piece, *Lecho Adonai*, took less inspiration from Verrinder's arrangement, remaining more authentic to Sulzer's own rendering. Other compositions by Sulzer also feature in the 'Blue Book'.

Opening words of text/Title	**Volumes (Page)**	**Principal Composer/Arranger**
Adon Olam	2 (204)	Naumbourg/Verrinder
Adon Olam	2 (214); 4 (124)	Sulzer/Verrinder
Adon Olam	2 (194); 5 (157)	Verrinder
Amen Responses	2 (169); 3 (29); 5 (97)	Verrinder
Ashrei	2 (171)	Verrinder
Baruch Shem Kevod	5 (90)	Verrinder
Baruch Shenatan	2 (162); 3 (22)	Verrinder
Eleh Mongade	2 (36)	Verrinder
En Kelohenu	2 (200)	Naumbourg/Verrinder
En Kelohenu	2 (190)	Sulzer/Verrinder
En Kelohenu	2 (211); 4 (121)	Trad/Verrinder
En Kelohenu	5 (153)	Verrinder
Essa Enai	2 (54); 3 (15)	Verrinder
Halleluyah *Alti or Contralti*	2 (90); 3 (30); 4 (11)	Verrinder
Hashivenu	2 (189); 5 (107)	Verrinder
Kadish Responses	2 (72); 3 (45); 5 (163)	Verrinder
Mi Addir	2 (89)	Sulzer/Verrinder
Shir Hammalot Ledavid	2 (49)	Trad/Verrinder
Vaanachnu	2 (177); 5 (105)	Verrinder
Vayehi Binsoah	2 (159); 3 (19); 5 (87)	Verrinder
Vayehi Erev	2 (100)	Ancient Chant
Yigdal	2 (58)	Trad/Verrinder
Yigdal	2 (65)	Trad/Verrinder

Figure 8: Table showing settings for Alto not featured in *The Music used*... Volume 1.

The last two entries in Figure 8 are somewhat misleading, for they do feature in later editions of Volume 1 following their initial appearance in the 1870 edition of Volume 2. The reason for their late inclusion in Volume 1 is unclear; however, their early absence draws attention to the other setting of the *Yigdal* text found in this volume – particularly given that Verrinder likely arranged them during the same period. The addition of two further settings of the *Yigdal* text is the only significant change between the Addison/Lamborn Cock and Novello editions of Volume 1. Discussion of this change harks back to the beginning of this chapter, as the initial setting Verrinder included in this volume was based around the 'Leoni' tune which Olivers later used for his hymn 'The God of Abraham Praise'. Given its Ashkenazi origins, this melody is not only striking in Verrinder's volume in comparison with the two other, Sephardi settings included in later editions, but also within the wider context of Verrinder's arrangements of so-called 'ancient melodies' – almost all of which had Sephardi origins and can be

found in De Sola and Aguilar's own collection (the *Yigdal* settings included). This raises the question of where Verrinder first came across the melody made famous by Myer Leon.



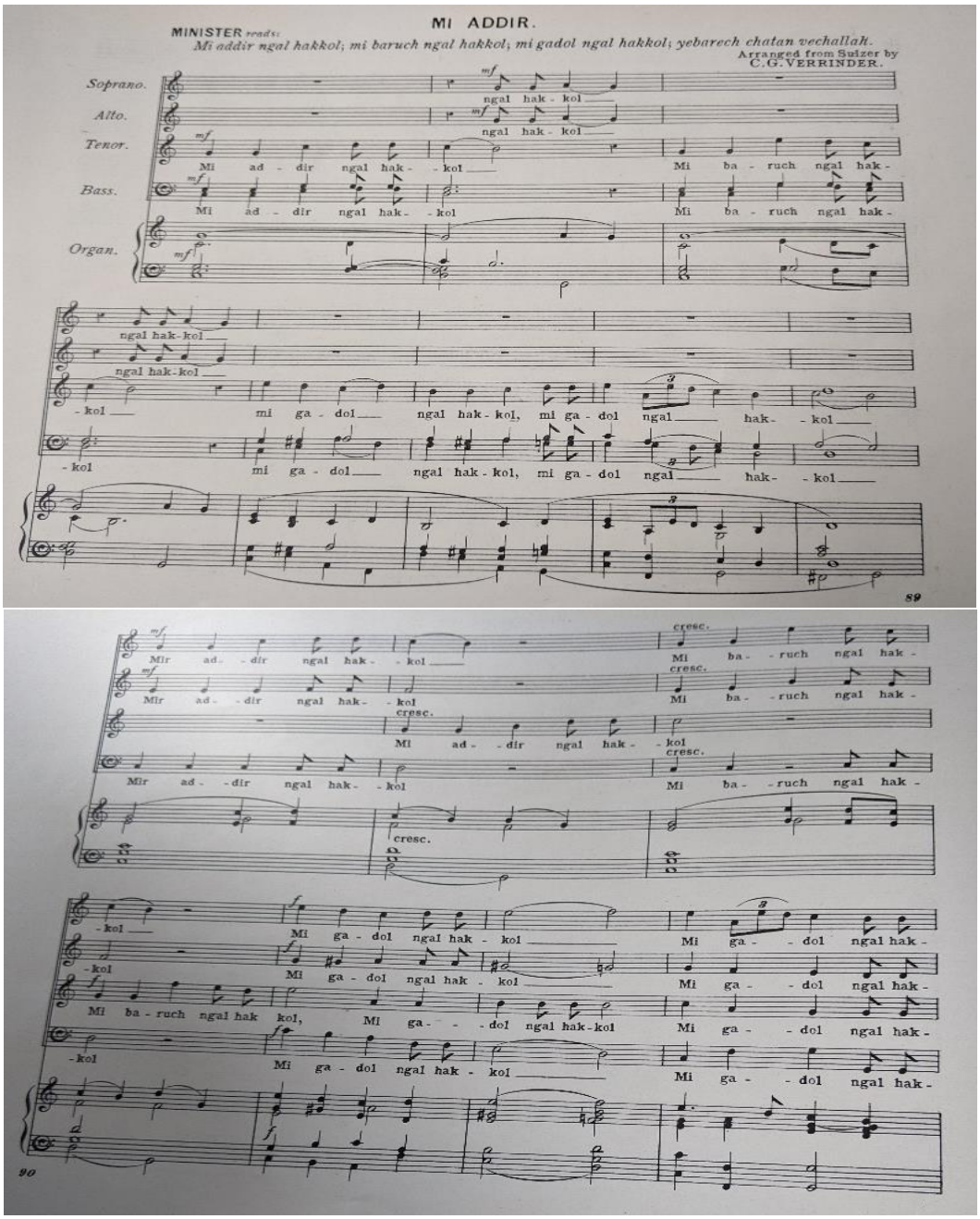
Example 6a: 'Mi Addir', composed by S. Sulzer. *Schir Zion*.

Given its popularity from the late 1770s, the melody may have found its way into early nineteenth-century Sephardi worship, both at Bevis Marks and later at the West London Synagogue, where there were several Ashkenazi congregants who had links with the Great Synagogue. An additional connection exists between Leon's *Yigdal* melody and Sir John Simon, who assisted Verrinder in his collating of ancient melodies.[73] Simon was born and spent the first fifteen years of his life in Jamaica, not far from the principal Jewish community in Kingston, to which Leon himself had moved following dwindling success as a singer in London.[74] In Kingston, Leon became the country's first cantor in the Ashkenazi synagogue, a post he retained until his death in 1796. While Simon was not born until 1818, it is likely that the musical tradition of the Jewish community in Jamaica originated, at least in part, from Leon. To that end, the melody was probably familiar to West London Synagogue

[73] 'Death of Dr. Verrinder', *Musical Herald*, 1 August 1904.

[74] See Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 87, and Joseph Jacobs, 'Simon, Sir John', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 12 June 2020) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13742-simon-sir-john.

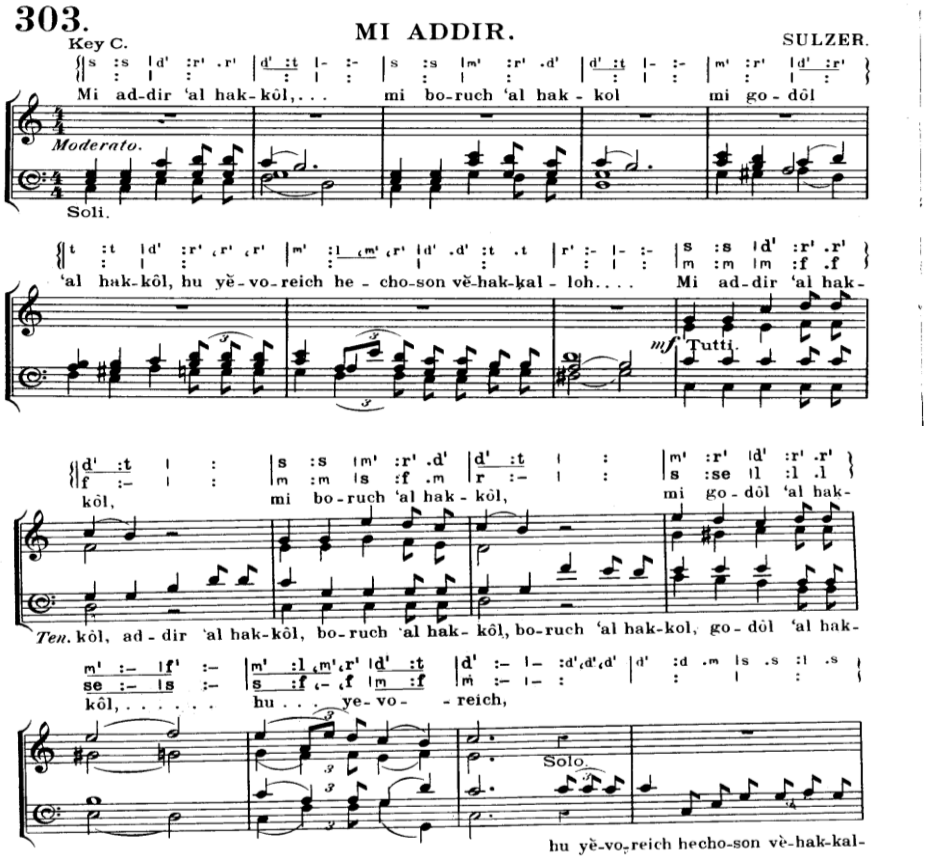
congregants, although its presence in the choral repertoire only upon Verrinder's arrival suggests that it had not yet become a regular feature of the Synagogue's worship.



Example 6b: 'Mi Addir', composed by S. Sulzer, arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

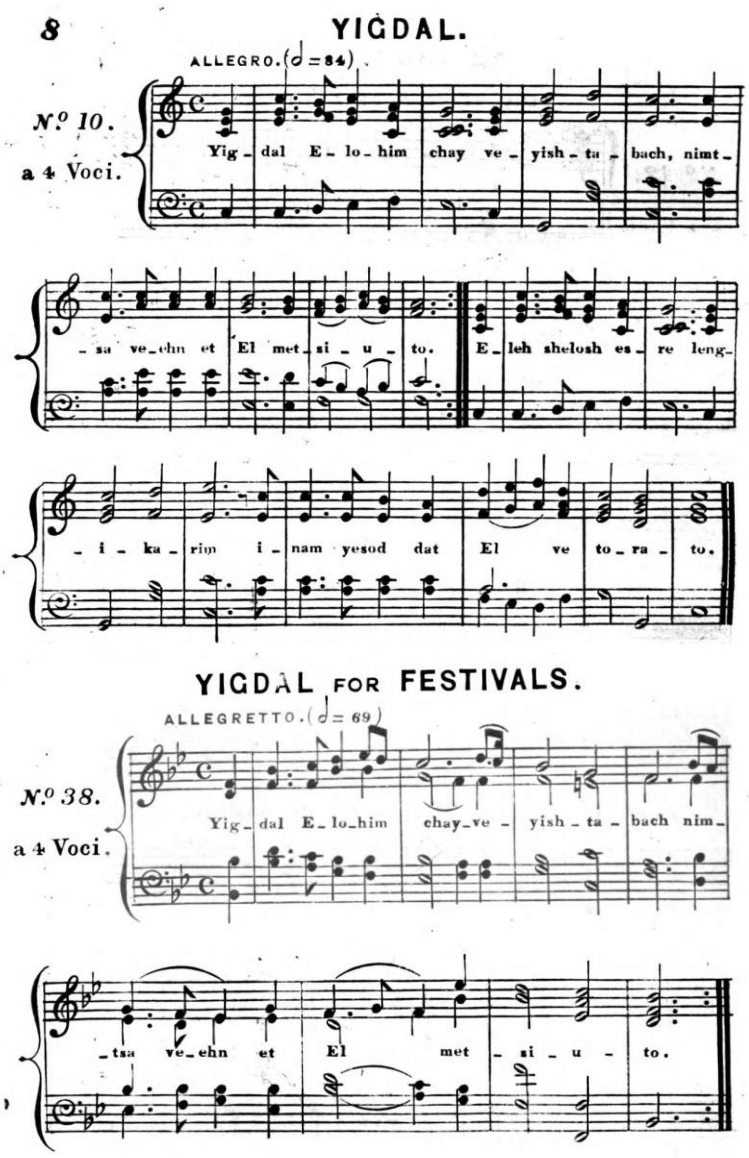
In all likelihood, Verrinder's first experience of this melody was Olivers' hymn adaptation, although he neither attributes it to Olivers or to Leon. His 1890 lecture, given upon his application to the Gresham Professorship, indicates that he was aware of 'a tune found in many [Church hymn] collections adapted from a traditional Hebrew melody […] the tune is constantly sung in Synagogue to

a hymn called "Yigdal", and is sufficiently interesting to be heard and recognised'.[75] His awareness of Olivers' version may have inspired him to prioritise his own arrangement in the first edition of *The Music used…*, not wishing it to get lost among other well-known, Sephardi settings of *Yigdal,* particularly as they had only appeared in print four years previously. An accurate knowledge of *The Music used…*'s publication date and content is therefore helpful in this regard; in 1861, Verrinder's arrangement was likely the only setting of this *Yigdal* tune printed for synagogue use. Versions published later in the century – such as those in Mombach's posthumous 1881 volume and Cohen's 1889 *Handbook* – therefore did not influence Verrinder's setting. However, the rhythmic features of the two settings in *The Ancient Melodies* did affect Verrinder's writing even before they themselves became part of *The Music used…*, suggesting that Verrinder was sensitive to differences between English and Hebrew textual underlay (see Examples 7a-b).



Example 6c: 'Mi Addir', composed by S. Sulzer. The 'Blue Book'.

[75] 'The Gresham Chair of Music', *Musical Standard,* 10 May 1890.

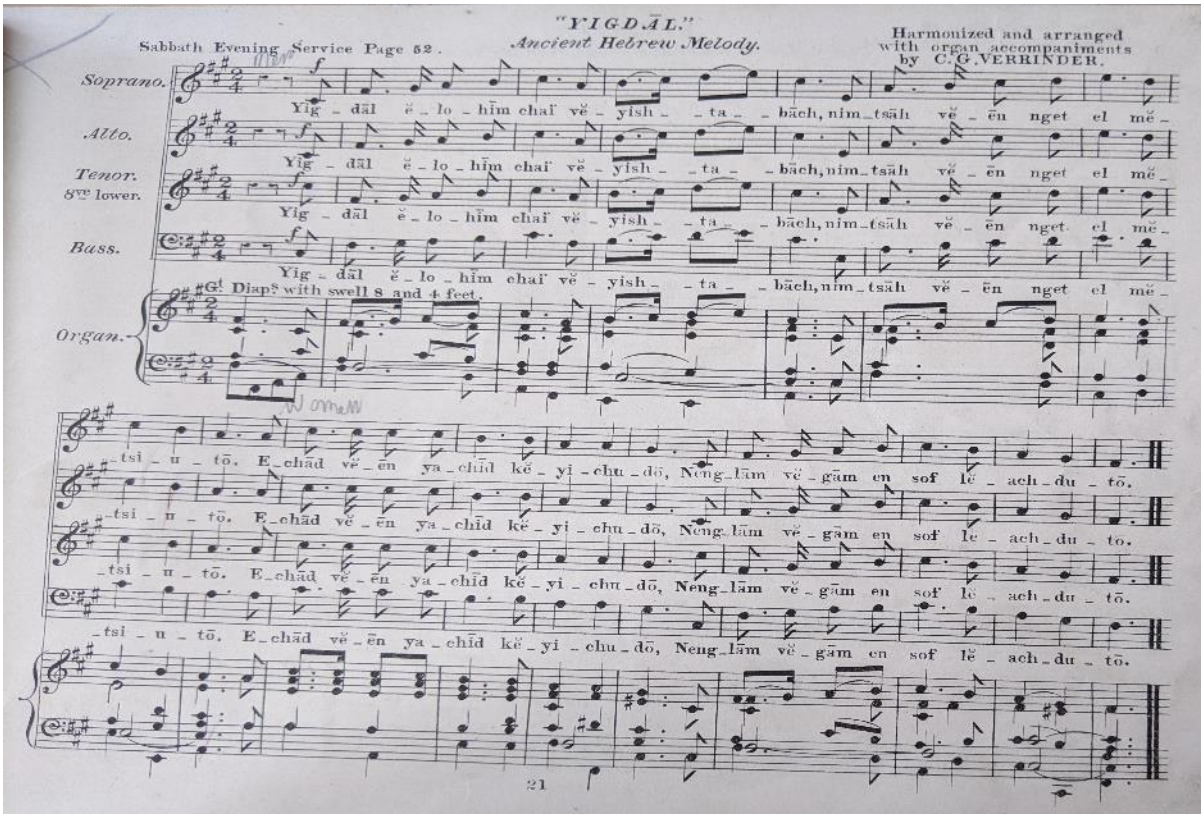


Example 7a: 'Yigdal' melodies, arranged by E. Aguilar. *The Ancient Melodies*.

Knapp makes reference to the discrepancies between Olivers' and Verrinder's settings, noting that 'the significant differentiating factor is the frequent use of dotted notes in the Jewish version – creating an element of drive and intensity, contrasting with the smoother minim and crotchet passing-note movement of the Christian version – producing an atmosphere, rather of tranquillity'.[76] This perhaps corresponds to the melody's place in either a synagogue or church service; whereas Olivers' hymn was 'usually listed as a "Processional", to be sung with vigour and majesty' at the start of a church service, the *Yigdal* is a concluding text associated with a long tradition of congregational participation

[76] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 99.

which, one can assume from the various settings of the text, had a more upbeat feel.[77] Interestingly, Verrinder's melodic setting is more static in places than Olivers', and indeed Cohen's later version (see Examples 1 and 2); while the latter also follows the 'Jewish' rhythms notated in the mid-century, his melodic line is reminiscent of Mombach's setting, which itself mediates between Leon's apparently flamboyant rendering (which inspired Olivers' melody) and Verrinder's own.[78] It is unclear why Verrinder chose to reduce the melody in this way, although by doing so he again reflected the rhythmic and melodic motion found in relative sections of the Sephardi melodies.



Example 7b: Leoni 'Yigdal' melody, arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 1.

The hymnodic link between the synagogue and the church is reinforced through Verrinder's use of this specific melody, the only one to be equally known in both spheres. Verrinder's setting structurally resembles an Anglican one, with opening and closing verses in unison as found in his arrangement of *Adonai Malach* (discussed in Chapter Two). While he does not, on this occasion, introduce a complex organ accompaniment in the final verse, he subtly alternates the vocal harmonies throughout the intermediate verses, with occasional changes in voice leading and chord progressions

[77] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 93. Knapp suggests a Sephardi custom of performing the *Yigdal* text in 'congregational unison', whereas Ashkenazi tradition alternates between the cantor and the congregation.

[78] The version included in the 1889 *Handbook* is even more reminiscent of Mombach's own, appearing in the same key (E minor).

(such as an A major dominant 7th with Tenor top G in bar 6 of the third and fifth verses) to add colour without detracting from the overall melodic and harmonic structure. While most settings of this particular *Yigdal* melody remain harmonically closely related, emphasising the major/minor shift characteristic of the *Magen Avot* mode in which it is written, Verrinder's is unusual in his use of harmonic variety.[79]

The 'ancient melodies' Verrinder arranged for the West London Synagogue appear to have been selected for their melodic and rhythmic simplicity, presumably for the ease with which they could be sung as well as for their resemblance to hymn tunes. His choice of the Leon 'Yigdal' – already proven to be a successful hymn – thus makes sense, as does his prioritisation of this melody over those found in later editions of *The Music used…*, as I shall explain shortly.[80] For a congregation well-versed in concert or music hall repertoire, but who wished to retain a strong Jewish identity, Verrinder's writing style appears to have provided a satisfactory solution. The tracing of various *Yigdal* settings, both here and in what follows, has consolidated my theory that Verrinder's collection for the West London Synagogue acted as a mediator between other published collections of Jewish liturgical music, at the epicentre of a period focused on heritage and identity.

From A(ncient Melodies) to B(lue Book)

The message presented by the 'Blue Book' when it was published at the end of the nineteenth century was indicative of the Anglo-Jewish climate of the period. Following nearly twenty years of dramatic growth in the Orthodox Ashkenazi community, the collection simultaneously embraced the United Synagogue's status as the major representative body of British Jews and rebelled against perceived attempts by recently migrated Jews to de-Anglicise worship and practice. As such, the 'Blue Book' itself, with its references to 'Anglo-Jewish composers' and 'modern Jewish Hymnody', represented a current, British Ashkenazi community, and its supporters celebrated its apparently unique mass appeal with a certain superiority over those who did not belong to the club. Cohen and Davis even claimed ownership of the traditional melodies contained in the volume, which were transcribed 'according to the London Use'; this assertion reinforced the notion that England's capital – as in so many instances – remained the centre of Anglo-Jewish musical culture to which all other communities should aspire.[81]

The notable absence of Verrinder's repertoire (written for and continually performed to a high standard in a central London synagogue), despite acknowledgement of his contribution to the 1889

[79] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 98.

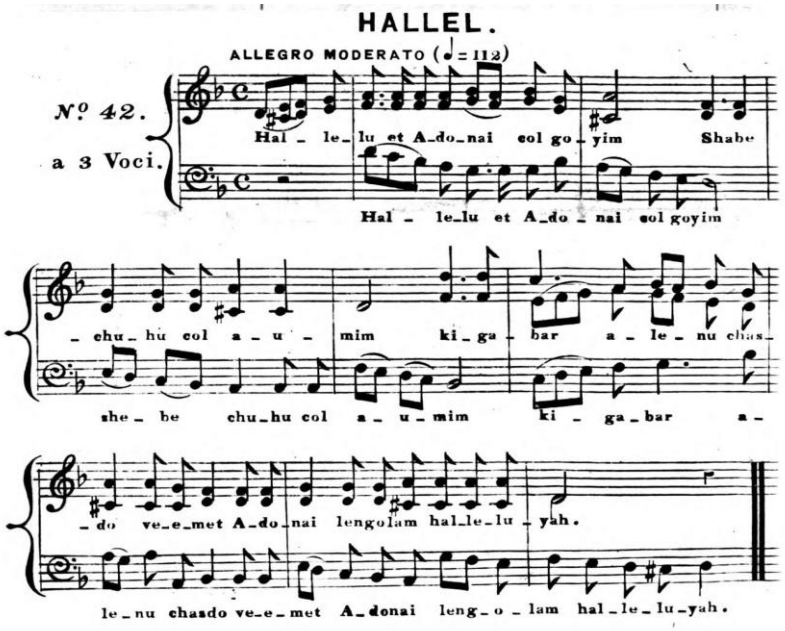
[80] Aside from the two Sephardi melodies for the *Yigdal* text which are found in Volume 2 (and later editions of Volume 1), a fourth, Ashkenazi setting of the text was arranged by Verrinder and published in Volume 4. This popular tune, later featured in the 'Blue Book', is explicitly used for High Holyday services, explaining its absence in earlier volumes.

[81] Cohen and Davis, *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*, vii.

Handbook, is therefore interesting. Cohen and Davis presumably had access to Verrinder's volumes, and continued to include Salaman's compositions in the 'Blue Book' (see Example 5). However, the ten years between the two publications saw a professional disagreement between Cohen and Verrinder play out in the *Jewish Chronicle*. During an 1896 discussion in which Cohen dismissed the West London Synagogue's musical activity, Verrinder remarked on a certain tendency towards plagiarism across the synagogue music world:

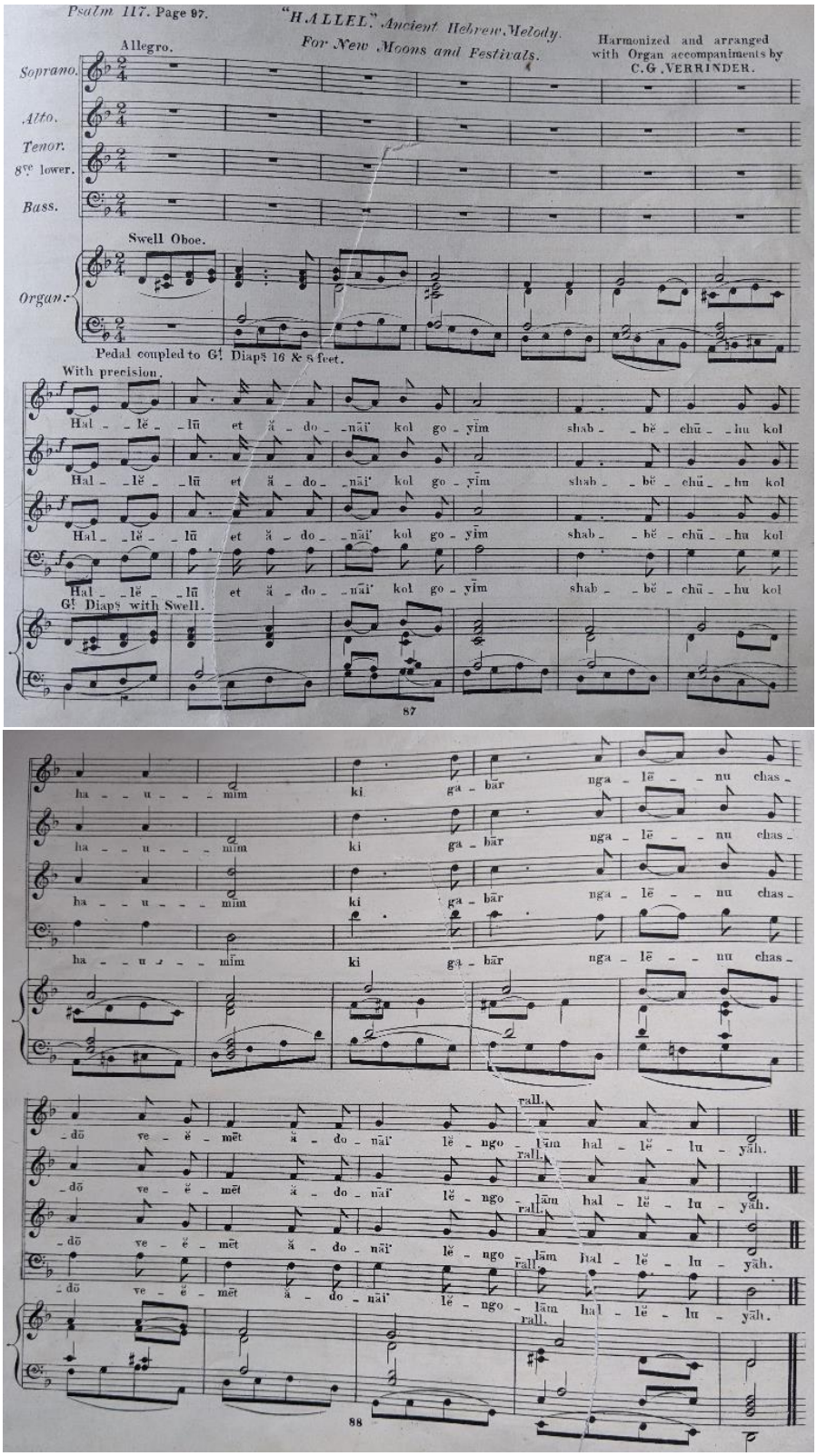
> [m]ost of the choirmasters of other synagogues copy our music, and are more or less under obligation to us; they acquire a smattering of true chanting in Hebrew by frequent visits to Berkeley Street, and write learnedly upon their new requirements, but they fail to acknowledge the source of their indebtedness.[82]

On top of an already established theme of 'otherness' which separated West London Synagogue practice from the mainstream, United Ashkenazi movement, Verrinder's Anglican faith presumably provided an additional level of complexity for those who found his success (particularly among some non-Reform individuals and communities) challenging to their own ideas of a 'Jewish' musical identity. The following examples go some way to proving Verrinder's accusation correct; through discussing 'ancient melodies' common to all of the collections featured in this chapter, it is apparent that Cohen and Davis did on occasion not just adopt some of the Sephardi melodies used in the West London Synagogue, but took Verrinder's arrangements wholesale and without acknowledgment.



Example 8a: Psalm 117, arranged by E. Aguilar. *The Ancient Melodies*.

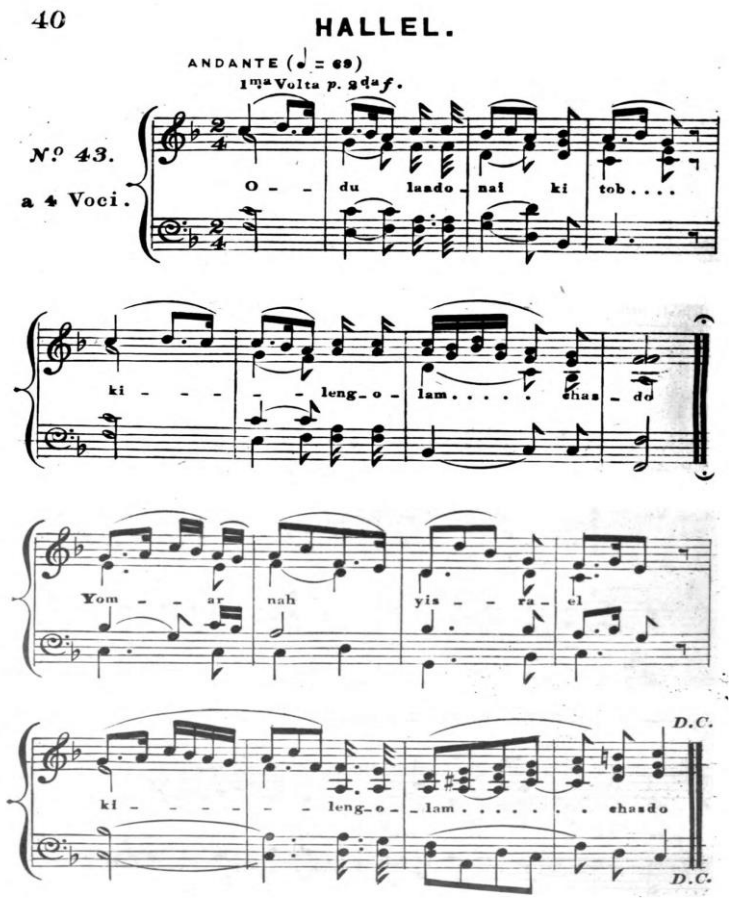
[82] 'Jewish Hymns and Jewish Melodies', *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 September 1896. The full discussion starts with 'The Need for Jewish Melodies/Hymns', 21 August 1896.



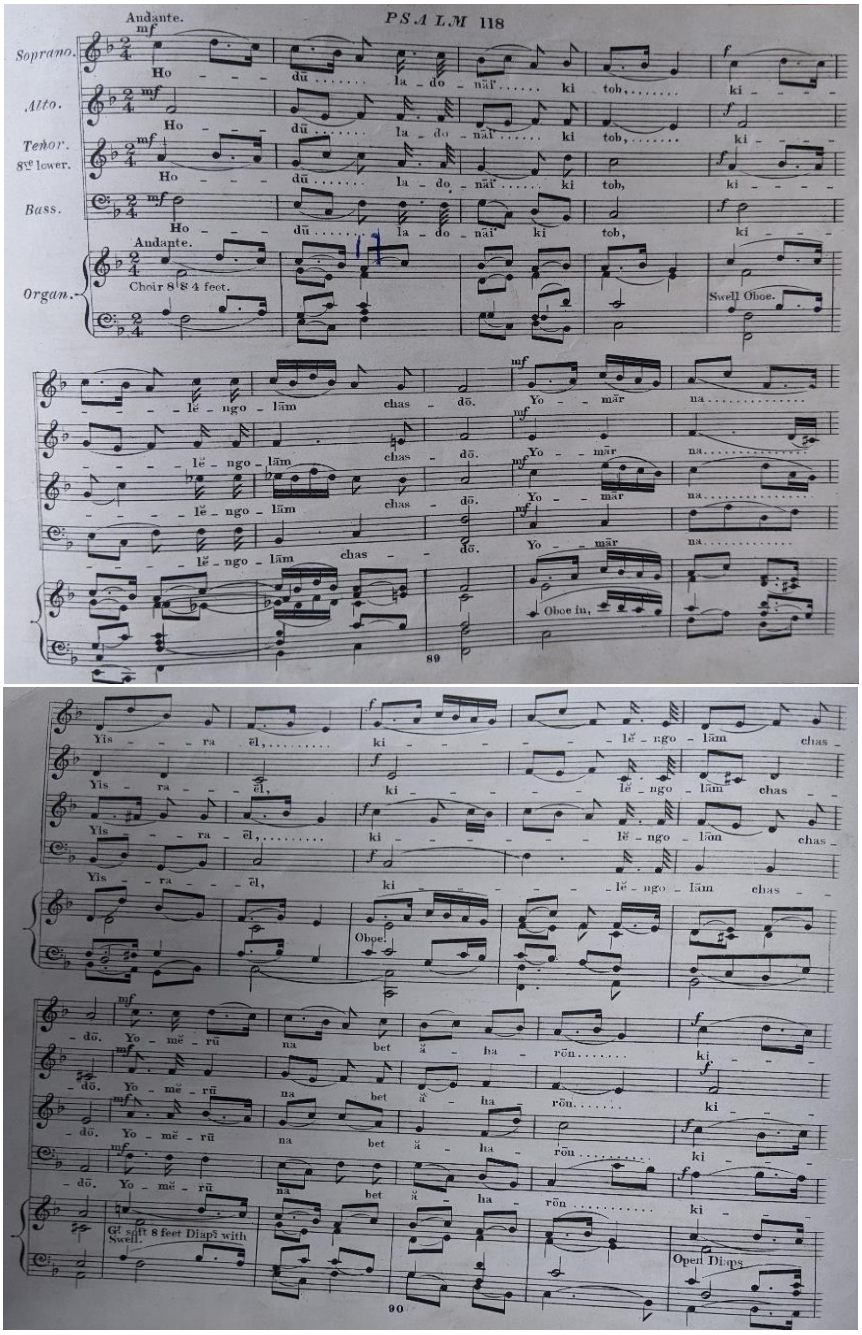
Example 8b: Psalm 117, arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 1.

The clearest example of this is the respective settings of the *Hallel* psalms, focusing on the melodies for Psalms 117 ('Hallelu') and 118 ('Hodu L'Adonai') which are used interchangeably for various verses throughout the two texts. In *The Ancient Melodies* they are No. 42 and No. 43, the final

two of five melodies given the title 'Hallel'. Verrinder's own settings of the same two melodies in *The Music used…* indicate a certain inspiration from Aguilar's arrangements, despite faults in the latter regarding metrical displacement (such as a four-quaver anacrusis in No. 42 off-setting the strong beats of the bar) and vocal line inconsistencies (regular stave-swapping of the inner voices in No. 43). Verrinder rectifies Aguilar's metrical confusion in Psalm 117 (Examples 8a-b) by converting to a 2/4 time signature, and creates more harmonic interest through brief transitions in and out of the relative major, replacing Aguilar's repetitive tonic-dominant structure in D minor. However, he does maintain many of Aguilar's original features, such as the walking bass (now in the organ below a unison melody). His setting of Psalm 118 (Examples 9a-c) incorporates Aguilar's parallel thirds and sixths – now with more equal spacing between the voices creating a more balanced texture. In other words, Verrinder's arrangements adopt successful features found in Aguilar's own writing, while amending those aspects which hinder the melodic and harmonic flow of the ancient tune to create something both traditional and modern.



Example 9a: Psalm 118, arranged by E. Aguilar. *The Ancient Melodies*.

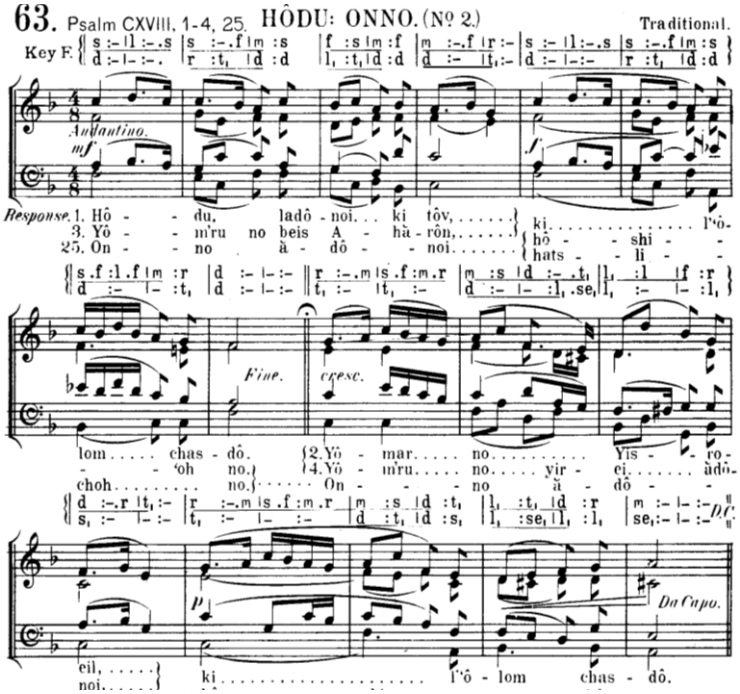


Example 9b: Psalm 118, arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 1.

The two settings found in the 'Blue Book' – both simply labelled 'Traditional' – indicate a secondary level of musical borrowing that goes beyond mere influence.[83] At first, Cohen's version of the *Hallelu* text does not appear to resemble either Aguilar's or Verrinder's arrangement – harmonically, it is similar to Verrinder's organ accompaniment, but without the walking bass or counterpoint found in either of the earlier collections. Cohen's arrangement, however, is also used for text from a later

[83] The index indicates that these melodies come from the Sephardi tradition, although Aguilar and De Sola go unmentioned.

section of Psalm 118 – *Odecha* – which in *The Music used…* is also set to the *Hallelu* melody, but with a more static organ accompaniment and with the addition of choral harmonies (see Examples 10a-b). It is only by looking at Verrinder's *Odecha* arrangement that one can identify that Cohen has lifted Verrinder's choral accompaniments almost wholescale, employing this setting for both the *Hallelu* and *Odecha* texts. Verrinder's choral arrangement for *Hodu L'Adonai* has also been taken in its entirety. Put plainly, both of Cohen's 'Traditional' *Hallel* pieces are Verrinder's arrangements – used without the organ accompaniments, and without credit to Verrinder himself.

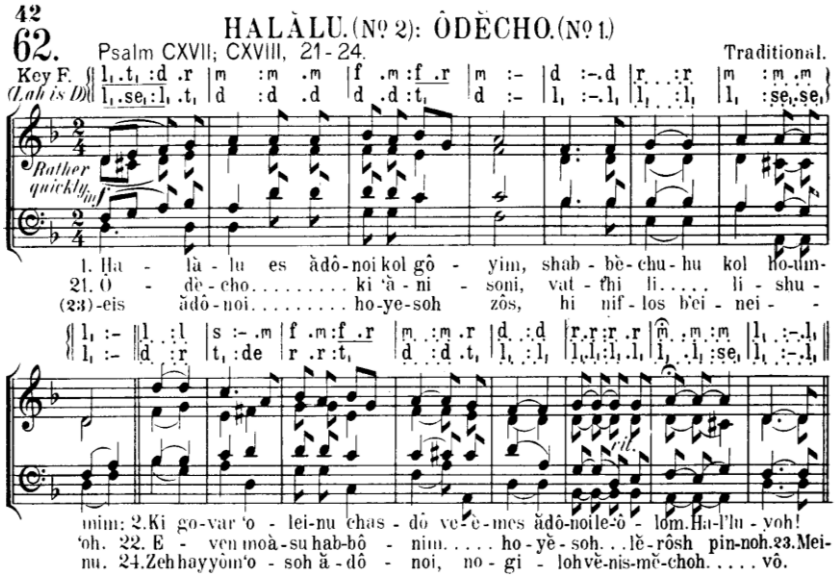


Example 9c: Psalm 118. The 'Blue Book'.

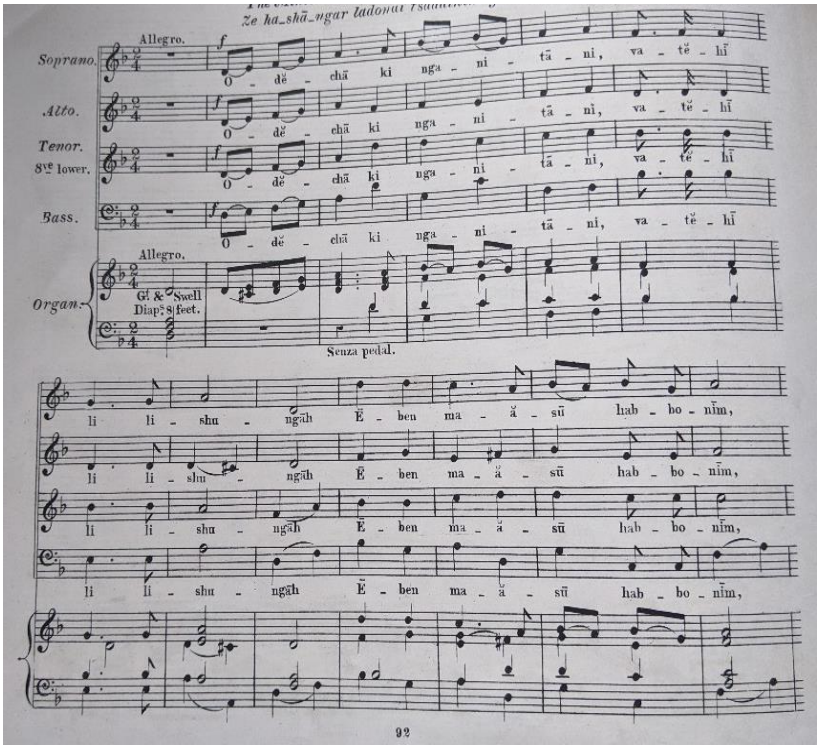
Such obvious 'borrowing' on the part of the 'Blue Book' leads one to question how Cohen's actions can be justified. Unlike Verrinder, who appears to have taken inspiration from Aguilar's settings and refined the musical writing, Cohen made no musical amendments – time and key signatures, harmonies, and voice leading are all identical to those found in Volume 1 of *The Music used…*, first published some thirty years prior to the 'Blue Book'. The only changes are minor, and text-related – the transliteration of the Hebrew was tailored to suit Ashkenazi pronunciation, and some rhythms were affected accordingly. It seems implausible that such minute adjustments allowed Cohen to take credit for the arrangement (the presumption from the Preface is that all 'Traditional' melodies are Cohen's settings, unless otherwise specified). A *Jewish Chronicle* review of the 1889 *Handbook* justified Cohen and Mosely's apparently flexible approach to musical ownership:

> The Editors have dealt tenderly with the weaker features of some composers' part-writing and we must frankly say that their restraint in revision – out of

"respect for the predilections of persons accustomed to associate with certain melodies a particular harmonisation" – has occasionally been carried to a fault.[84]



Example 10a: 'Odecha'. The 'Blue Book'.



Example 10b: 'Odecha', arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 1.

[84] 'The New Hymnal. [Second Notice.]', *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 November 1889.

While the review criticised (not unkindly) the sentimental care taken to preserve harmonisations which had almost become as ingrained as the ancient melodies themselves, it made no qualms with the fact that compositions and arrangements by other musicians could be amended – or used – freely, without consent or, in the case of the 'Blue Book' *Hallel* Psalms, acknowledgement.

One melody for which Cohen's knowledge of Verrinder's arrangement can be confirmed is the setting of Psalms 92 and 93, which had been laid out with an incomplete text and unclear melodic structure in *The Ancient Melodies* (see Example 4). Verrinder's adaptation ('Tob Lehodot') is structurally clearer, although there is little else to distinguish his harmonic arrangement from Aguilar's with the exception of key (E minor rather than F minor) and some variety in the internal vocal lines. Certain less predictable chord choices – such as an inverted tonic and a diminished triad – indicate that the overlap is not coincidental. The most significant difference is found at the end of each three-part section, where Verrinder adopts a brief transition to the tonic major before resolving to the minor key during the descending closing phrase (Examples 11a-b). This conclusion is featured in recent recordings from Bevis Marks, which I listened to in order to determine the melodic structure used in the Sephardi tradition for these two Psalms.[85] Within what would have historically been an ambiguous modality, and with relatively antiquated harmonic patterns, this shift to the tonic major is not out of place; Aguilar's own arrangement also features a move to the tonic major, however this seems to correlate with the close of Psalm 93 only, rather than being incorporated into the repeated melodic material.

When faced with two pre-existing notated versions, therefore, it is interesting that Cohen and Davis' arrangement ('Tov Lehodos') is virtually identical to Verrinder's, down to the closing major motif and unison descending passages not found in Aguilar's arrangement. In fact, Cohen's relationship with the Sephardi melody began over a decade previously, during his lecture at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition. Here, Cohen introduced the 'oldest chant surviving for Psalm xcii', performed by the choir of the West London Synagogue with Verrinder at the organ. Cohen stated that the original melody would have been sung 'of course without the modern harmony, and with a very different accompaniment', suggesting that the arrangement performed was likely to have been Verrinder's due to the presence of the organ.[86] Two years later, the 1889 *Handbook* featured the Psalm setting as it would later appear in the 'Blue Book'; it would seem that, while on friendly terms during the late 1880s, Cohen willingly incorporated Verrinder's harmonically varied settings regardless of the presence of

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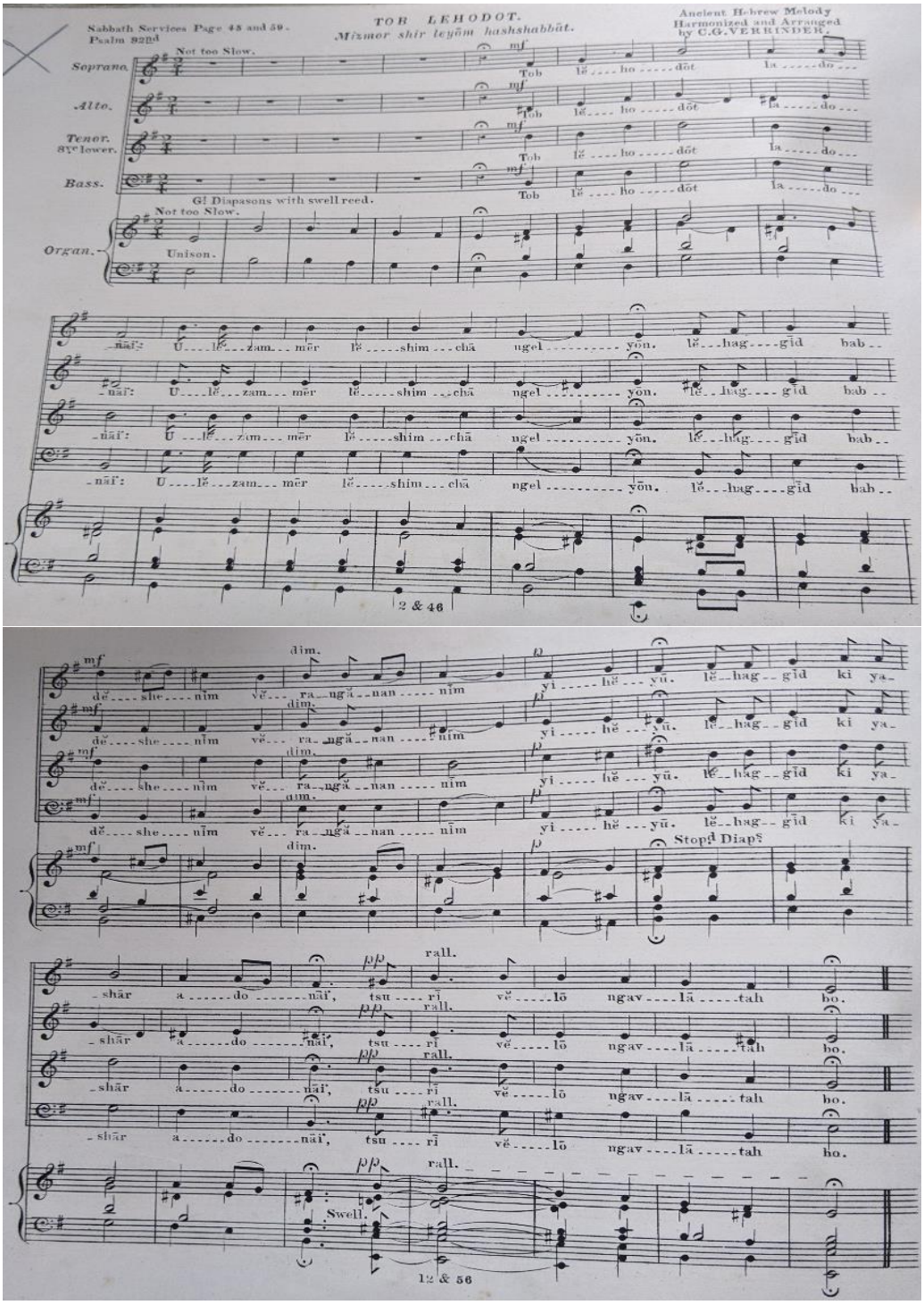
[85] Psalm 92, Psalm 92 (*Chazanut*) and Psalm 93, 'Congregational Melodies', Liturgical Music of Shaar Hashamayim, London (accessed 3 April 2017)
http://www.spmusic.org/Congregational_Melodies/Mizmor_Shir_Leyom_Hashabbat.mp3;
http://www.spmusic.org/files/ShabbatEve/18_p82b_Ps_xcii.mp3;
http://www.spmusic.org/Congregational_Melodies/Adonai_Malach_Trad.mp3.

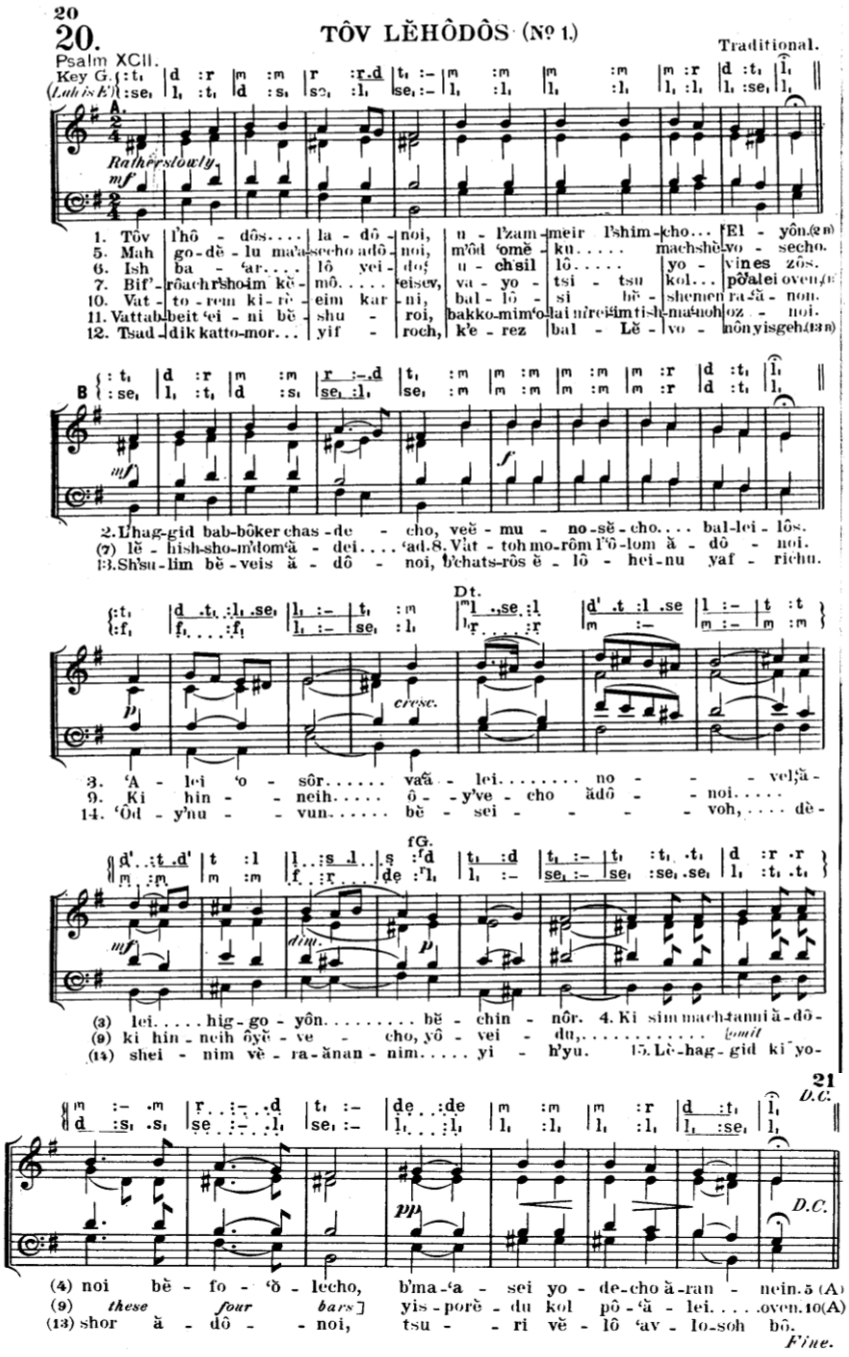
[85] Psalm 93 final verse, 'Congregational Music', Liturgical Music of Shaar Hashamayim, London (accessed 3 April 2017)
http://www.spmusic.org/files/ShabbatEve/23_p82g_Ps_xciii_reprise.mp3.

[86] Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', 88.

more 'authentic' versions notated in *The Ancient Melodies*. Ironically, neither the *Handbook* nor the 'Blue Book' credited Verrinder for his part in the arrangement, other than in the general acknowledgements found in the *Handbook*'s Preface.



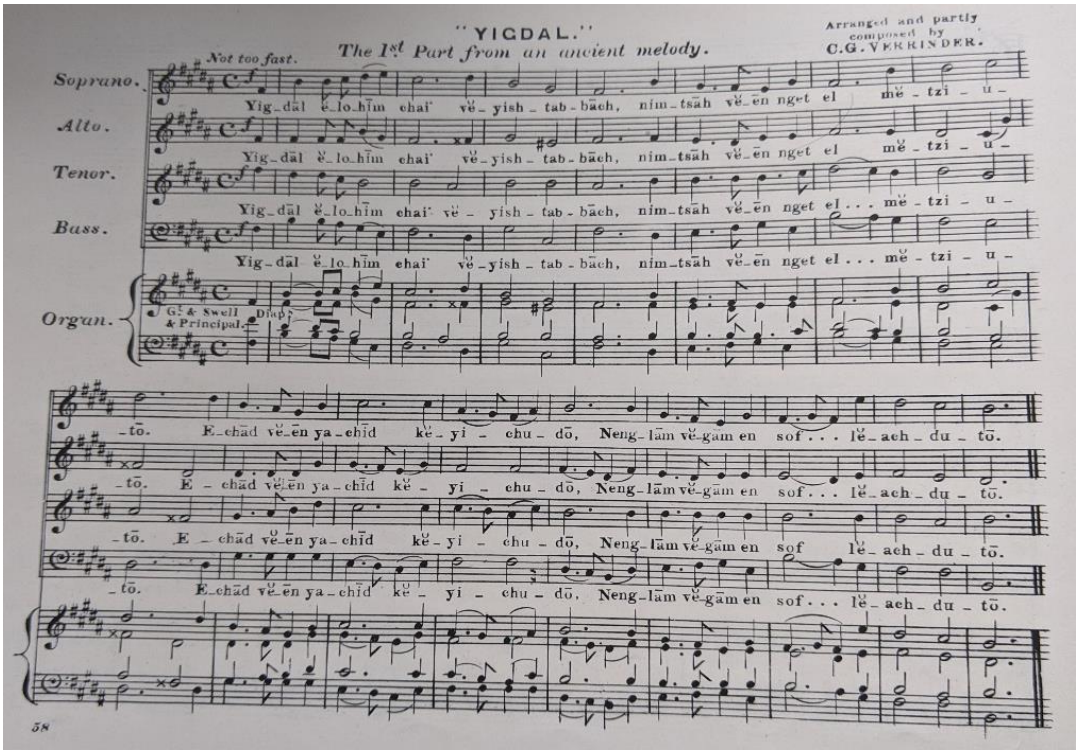
Example 11a: 'Tob Lehodot', first and last pages, arranged by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 1.



Example 11b: 'Tov Lehodos'. The 'Blue Book'.

A final example of overlap between all three collections tells a subtly different story regarding the borrowing of musical material. At this point, I shall reintroduce the discussion around the *Yigdal* text; this time, though, with a focus on Verrinder's arrangements found in Volume 2 of *The Music used…*. His rendering of the melody found in Example 12 challenges ideas of heritage and authenticity by appending eight bars of newly composed music to the original tune (see Aguilar's version in Example 7a, lower). Verrinder made his role in the arrangement abundantly clear; the title introduces the piece with the words 'The 1st. Part from an ancient melody', while the acknowledgement states that

it was 'Arranged and partly composed by C. G. Verrinder'.[87] There are no indications obvious to the ear that Verrinder had composed the second half of the piece. He elided the two sections by repositioning the last four bars of the original melody at the end of each verse to reassure the congregation that they were once again on familiar ground, replacing the missing bars with a brief modulation to the relative minor which quickly resolves. Rhythmically, his writing style imitates not only the traditional melody of the first half, but also the many other settings of the *Yigdal* text (Sephardi and Ashkenazi) which incorporate the ♩. ♪ ♩ ♩ rhythm. Short sequential motifs which follow the same rhythmic and melodic pattern of bar 5, supported by predictable chord progressions, help to unite the two sections, and create an impression of recognisability. To this end, Verrinder's implied claim that he 'composed' the second half of the melody is only partly accurate – only one or two bars contain entirely unique material. However, the skill with which he extended the melodic substance without creating cause for concern among congregants should perhaps not be underestimated.

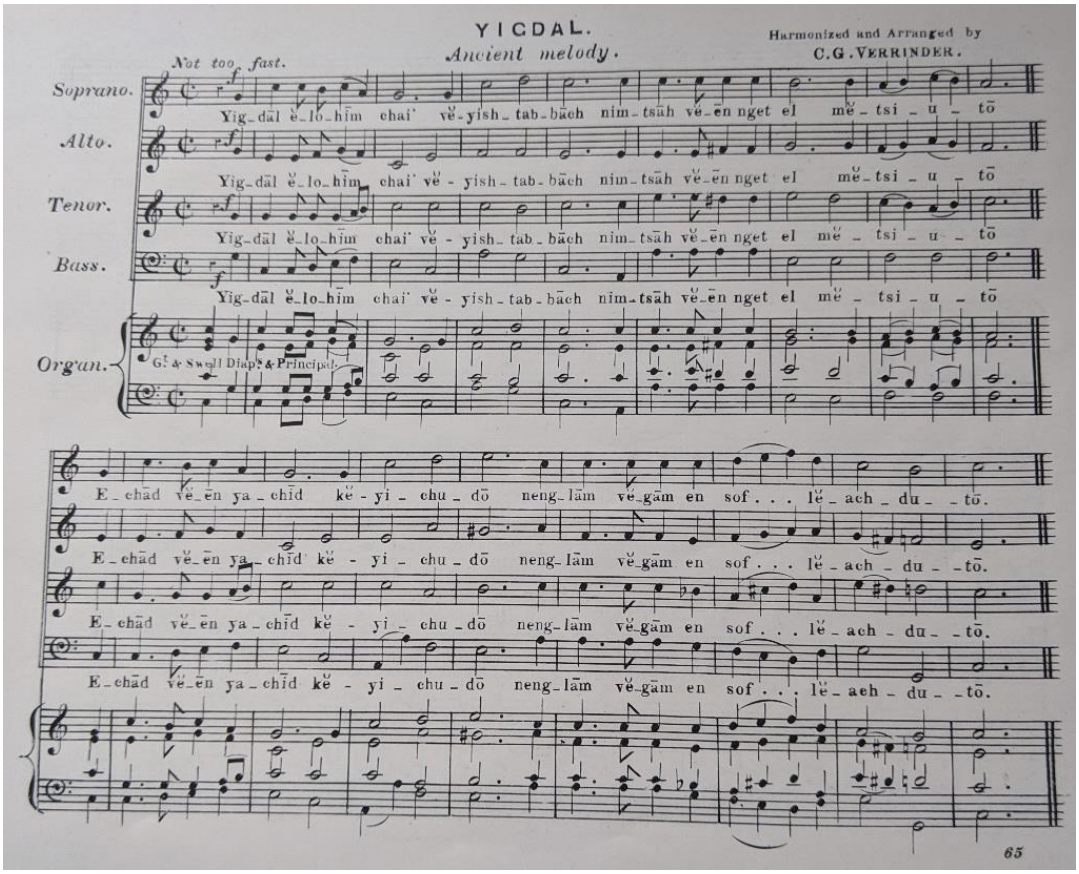


Example 12: 'Yigdal'. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

The other *Yigdal* setting in Volume 2, also featured in *The Ancient Melodies* (Example 7a, top), follows a similar pattern to the previous arrangement (Example 13). Here, Verrinder did not compose new material; instead, he alternated the standard eight-bar phrase with that normally reserved for the final verse recited in the Sephardi tradition (translated as 'These are the Thirteen Principles of our faith,

[87] Verrinder, *The Music used…* Volume 2, 28.

they are the foundation of faith in God and of his Law').[88] Aguilar's arrangement shows the distinction between the repeated eight-bar phrase (bars 1-8) and the unrepeated concluding phrase to which the additional verse is set (9-16). By interchanging the two musical phrases, Verrinder not only expanded the melodic interest of the piece as he did in the previous 'Yigdal', but also completed what otherwise feels like an interrupted cadence at the end of the first eight bars, which would have jarred with nineteenth century harmonic expectations.

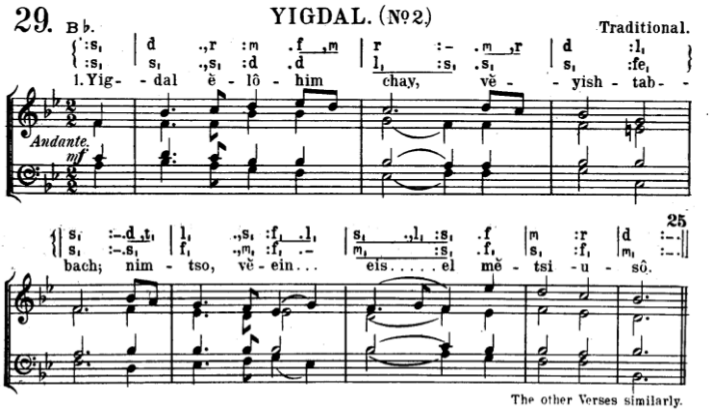


Example 13: 'Yigdal'. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

Both Verrinder and Aguilar adopt the same move to the subdominant at the end of the opening phrase, where the melody might more naturally suggest a modulation to the relative minor. This, alongside almost identical bass lines and other similar harmonic progressions, would appear to demonstrate that Verrinder took significant inspiration from Aguilar's arrangement of this melody, although he was a little more experimental with some of the passing chords. It seems clear that Verrinder's intentions were, once again, to create a more imaginative melodic structure out of a familiar tune, thus satisfying a congregation wishing to revive their musical traditions to match their cultural development outside of worship.

[88] Knapp, 'Meier Leon's *Yigdal*', 89.

At this point, it is worth re-introducing the 'Blue Book' into the discussion. In stark contrast to the use of Verrinder's arrangements for the *Hallel*, Cohen's setting of the short, eight-bar 'Yigdal' is almost a direct replica of Aguilar's (Example 14). As is often necessary with Aguilar's arrangements, Cohen refined the harmonisations, including changes to the voice leading at the conclusion of the piece to avoid awkward leaps in the tenor line, an octave gap in the middle of the texture (in bar 6, beat 4), and a five-note chord in what Aguilar referred to as a piece 'a 4 voci'. These minor adjustments do not detract, however, from the fact that the influence lies solidly in *The Ancient Melodies*. This example of musical borrowing, while reinforcing Cohen's penchant for using arrangements by other musicians without credit, highlights a more helpful phenomenon regarding the balance between religious authenticity and musical preference. Where Aguilar's and Verrinder's arrangements differed only in musical quality, Cohen opted to incorporate the latter's more refined musical style and elegant vocal writing, as identified in discussion of the two *Hallel* Psalms. However, it seems that Cohen was not willing to adopt Verrinder's melodically amended arrangement of the *Yigdal* text. This may have been for reasons of copyright; however, a more likely reason that Cohen chose Aguilar's 'Yigdal' over Verrinder's is that it was the more accurate representation of the ancient melody. Within a collection which claims to incorporate traditional melodies and new compositions, Verrinder's 'Yigdal' would have been a musical half-way house, creating complications regarding origin and authenticity.



Example 14: 'Yigdal'. The 'Blue Book'.

Appendix 4 lists the pieces which feature in at least two of the three collections (and, where relevant, in the 1889 *Handbook*), noting similarities in key or harmonic writing and obvious wholescale imitation. Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly given its relatively late publication date, the 'Blue Book' demonstrates the most obvious musical 'borrowing'. It is interesting that Cohen's use of Aguilar's arrangements (or those suspiciously similar) often coincided with instances where Verrinder's arrangement of the same melody was unusual – such as the 'Yigdal' where Verrinder composed eight extra bars. Two further examples of this reiterate Verrinder's concern that the services at the West London Synagogue should combine religious observance with musical quality – his arrangements of

both *Az Yashir Moshe* (Volume 1, page 61 of the Novello edition) and *El Nora* (Volume 5, page 195), in line with a number of his other pieces discussed in Chapter Two, incorporated vocal and instrumental changes in texture, vocal line, and dynamics to allow for variety across what would otherwise be a repetitive piece. Cohen and Aguilar, on the contrary, included just one iteration of each melody, with only the text providing variety across the verses.

Exploring the various borrowings between collections, particularly within a better-understood chronological context, demonstrates the power that the West London Synagogue – and specifically Verrinder's arrangements – had over the larger choral developments within Anglo-Jewish worship. The stylistic impact of *The Music used…* on the more famous 'Blue Book' indicates that Verrinder's role as a musical mediator, not just between the 'traditional' and the 'modern', but also between Sephardi and Ashkenazi, significantly changed the sound of the British synagogue and contributed to the development of a hybrid 'Anglo-Jewish' musical practice.

CHAPTER FOUR

Beyond the Synagogue: Cantatas and Choral Societies

The publications featured in Chapter Three can be considered part of a cultural crossover through which the British public were made aware of a Jewish musical presence; for many, the 'normalisation' of Jewish music in the wider sphere was the secondary aim, on top of initial concerns to make worship relevant to contemporary Jews. In this chapter, I shall take this discussion further by assessing the other means through which Verrinder assimilated his work for the West London Synagogue in the context of his broader musical career. I have been able to identify not only Verrinder's most active years and the groups to which he was particularly dedicated, but also his connection to some of Victorian England's (predominantly London's) most significant musicians, institutions, and performance venues. Much of this information provides context to a selection of more relevant examples of Verrinder's work to promote Jewish music to a wider audience.

Verrinder's institutional employment – presumably following a similar pattern to other contemporary musicians – principally gave him a means of entering the more fluid and well-documented social music scene through which he encountered numerous talented and successful composers, organists, and performers. Most of Verrinder's best-known acquaintances, colleagues, and friends, however, were church and cathedral organists who also oversaw the running of professional musical societies and performances, particularly through institutions such as the Royal College of Organists, on the Council of which Verrinder sat for several years across the 1880s and 1890s. These included Charles Villiers Stanford, John Stainer, Arthur Sullivan, Henry Smart, Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, and Sir Julius Benedict – the latter two of whom, with Sir George Elvey and Sir John Goss, recommended Verrinder for his Lambeth Degree in 1873.[1] Interestingly, Charles Salaman was also an active member of these societies – particularly the Musical Society of London, of which he was the Founder and first Honorary Secretary between 1858 and 1865, succeeded in the latter position by Verrinder. Verrinder's connection with the Elvey brothers was also maintained through their shared participation in various musical committees and performances. He was often referred to in notices simply as 'Dr. Verrinder', and recognised by arts journalists at large music events, indicating his level of renown across London's musical circles.[2] He gave regular solo recitals on the grand organ at the Royal Albert Hall throughout the mid- to late-1870s, conducted and accompanied choirs and soloists at

[1] 'Miscellaneous', *Musical Times*, 1 June 1873.

[2] Verrinder's presence was noted among 'several other well-known London organists' at a recital given by organist William Best ('Organ Recital at Primrose Hill', *Musical Standard*, 31 March 1877); he was also recognised at a banquet 'in honour of Music' at Mansion House towards the end of his career ('Notes by Nemo', *Minim*, December 1893).

St James' Hall, the Hanover Rooms on Harley Street and the Royal Victoria Hall (known better then, as now, as the 'Old Vic'), and was responsible for the organisation of performances at various concert venues and stately homes – including a musical evening featuring a young Leonora Braham, prior to her success in the Savoy Operas.[3]

This was not Verrinder's first interaction with the soon-to-be-famous soprano. A letter in the West London Synagogue archives from a 'Leonora Abraham' (Braham's birth name) led me to suspect that Braham's early career also involved a regular place in Verrinder's choir, although this was tempered by another source suggesting that the chorister was in fact a 'Miss L. P. Abraham', where Braham's known middle name was Lucy. However, a little more investigation into Braham's family background has proven that her full birth name was Leonora Lucy Phillipa Abraham, and one of her first regular singing commitments was in fact at the West London Synagogue.[4] A series of letters between 1869 and 1870 indicate that her father, Philip Abraham (then Secretary of the Synagogue) made known Braham's desire to have a voluntary place in the choir over the 1869 High Holydays; this was followed by a further request that she be considered as a paid replacement for Louisa Van Noorden from April 1870.[5] Responses from Verrinder and from Braham herself demonstrate that these requests were fulfilled, and she remained in the choir until 1874 when she received a 'professional engagement' – presumably her debut in the German Reed production *Ages Ago*.[6] These documents also suggest that Braham's earliest music teachers were Louisa Van Noorden and Verrinder himself, whose 'Choral Classes' she attended prior to her paid engagement with the choir.[7] By 1873 Braham was using her

[3] 'Concerts Various', *Musical World*, 8 July 1876. Braham became best known for creating many of Gilbert and Sullivan's principal soprano roles.

[4] Spelling as in 'Marriages registered in April, May and June 1878', *England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1837-1915*, where the name 'Lucy' was also omitted.

[5] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, July 1869 to April 1870. The address from which Philip Abraham wrote his correspondence (147 Gower Street, West London) ties in with Braham's address on the 1871 Census. Abraham was himself a published poet and author; see 'Abraham, Philip', *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, ed. William D. Rubinstein, Michael A. Jolles and Hilary L. Rubinstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 5.

[6] MS 140 AJ 59 3/4, 23 March 1874. Braham's letter indicates that she had accepted a professional singing role which required her to be absent from the Synagogue on Friday evenings; were this not possible, she would have to give notice and be released from her duties altogether. Further documents from April and May 1874 (along with an advertisement for a soprano in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 May 1874) demonstrate that she ultimately left the choir, but offered her services for free during that year's Pentecost services. Braham's debut with the German Reed Entertainment company began on 20 April 1874; see 'The St George's Hall, Langham Place', Arthur Lloyd, and 'Leonora Braham, The D'Oyly Carte Opera Company', Gilbert and Sullivan Archive (both accessed 15 June 2020)
http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/StGeorgesHallLanghamPlaceLondon.htm;
https://www.gsarchive.net/whowaswho/B/BrahamLeonora.htm.

[7] MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, April 1870.

stage name and performing at musical evenings and recitals, implying that her early training under the West London Synagogue's auspices had been to her advantage.[8]

Knowledge of Leonora Braham's earliest paid singing work adds a further dimension to this discussion. Interestingly, a letter from popular author Dinah Craik suggests that Braham's musical career was perhaps initiated by the financial concerns of her father, a 'poor' man; in 1876, Craik wrote to singing teacher William Hayman Cummings that Braham 'has worked for her daily bread ever since she was 16' – the age at which she began singing in the West London Synagogue choir. Her earliest work with the German Reeds and resulting resignation from Verrinder's choir may also have been through coercion:

> The girl herself dislikes being an actress – dislikes the whole atmosphere of acting – & wants to become a concert singer – & follow real high art – in her profession.[9]

This background to Braham's early life – which Bourrier describes as a story 'right out of *Daniel Deronda*' – not only places her socially apart from her fellow female choristers, many of whom were part of the Anglo-Jewish upper classes, but also draws parallels with Verrinder's younger, working-class life in which he was set up for a musical career at the age of eight, and where his brother Edgar was sent to work on the railway at the age of fourteen.[10] It could also be suggested that Verrinder's high-quality Jewish musical material (with plentiful opportunities for solo female singers) and his links to London's musical society developed her taste for concert life, and gave her opportunities to consider how, as a Jewish woman, she might position herself within that environment. Craik's description of Braham's voice in terms of natural Jewish ability reaffirms that Jewish identity was a permanent, unconcealable feature during this period: 'if you heard her sing the soprano bits out of "Elijah" – (she is a Jewess) – I think you should say the girl had decidedly the musical genius of her nation'; however, in cases like these, perhaps it was to Braham's advantage.[11] Craik's mention of Braham's Jewishness as a kind of explanation for her 'genius' renderings of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* also demonstrates, perhaps, a certain monopoly for Jewish singers on repertoire based in Jewish subjects or written by Jewish composers.

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[8] 'Mr. Arthur J. Barth's Third Evening Concert', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 April 1873; this concert was held at St George's Hall, where Braham's German Reed debut would take place a year later.

[9] Karen Bourrier, *Victorian Bestseller: The Life of Dinah Craik* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 192-193.

[10] Bourrier, *Victorian Bestseller*, 192. Bourrier writes that Eliot's heroine, Mirah, 'is rescued from an unladylike life on stage through kind friends who recognize her musical talent and train her as a singer', claiming that Craik 'hoped the same could happen for her new protégée'. She also notes that '[c]omic opera was not exactly what Dinah had hoped to help her young friend into in 1876'. Thanks also to Joanna Newland for her research into the Verrinder family.

[11] Bourrier, *Victorian Bestseller*, 193.

It was therefore probably no coincidence that Braham, a budding soprano trained in the synagogue, took inspiration from another famous Jewish synagogue-turned-opera singer, John Braham, for her stage name. A variation of 'Abraham' common among Jewish families, Braham's new surname would not have concealed her Jewish identity; however, such a connection to London's most famous tenor of the early nineteenth century would likely have helped her to become a household name.[12] While her Jewish background rarely provoked comment in the press, it is interesting to note Braham's confidence in adopting a stage name which, although obviously Jewish, was now an established feature of the British opera house. The question thus arises whether Verrinder's status in the secular music world, combined with his support and encouragement for Jewish female singers, also influenced Braham's decision in this regard. Through his work across Jewish, Christian, and secular circles, Verrinder appeared to encourage not only the appreciation of difference without exoticisation, but also an emphasis on 'sameness'. For singers like Braham, Verrinder was normalising the notion of a professional career founded on synagogue training, just as his church background had helped to promote him within London's musical society.

Braham's involvement in Verrinder's choir perhaps makes sense of the *Jewish Chronicle*'s claim that '[i]t is worthy of note that most of the Jewish artistes on the stage have been, at one time or another under Dr. Verrinder, in the choir of the Reform Synagogue.'[13] So does the presence of one other soprano, a Julia Ehrenberg, who joined the choir with her sister, and who also gained renown at the D'Oyly Carte and the Carl Rosa Opera Companies under her stage name, Giulia Warwick.[14] Following her operatic career, Warwick taught at the Guildhall School of Music and later founded her own college.[15] Outside of the Synagogue, she also appeared with Verrinder on at least one occasion, at a charity concert in aid of 'the Society for Colonization [sic] of Palestine' in 1892.[16] 1870-71 appears to have been the period that many of Verrinder's most established female singers became paid members of the choir. However, aside from Braham and Warwick, the vocalists Verrinder worked with have not had longstanding renown despite their success at the time. The aforementioned Louisa Van Noorden, sister of West London Synagogue tenor Phineas Van Noorden, was part of a larger well-known musical family. After her marriage, she was often referred to as 'Madame Dukas' or 'Madame Dukas Van

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[12] Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 78.

[13] 'Gresham College', *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 April 1890.

[14] MS 140 AJ 59 2/3, 'C G Verrinder re the Misses Ehrenbergs', 11 July 1871; 'Giulia Warwick, The D'Oyly Carte Opera Company', Gilbert and Sullivan Archive (accessed 7 December 2020), https://www.gsarchive.net/whowaswho/W/WarwickGiulia.htm. Interestingly, the *Musical Times* published obituaries for Warwick and Verrinder above one another in their August 1904 issue, without acknowledging the link between the two performers; see 'Obituary', *Musical Times*, 1 August 1904.

[15] 'Giulia Warwick, The D'Oyly Carte Opera Company', Gilbert and Sullivan Archive; 'Obituary', *Musical Times*.

[16] 'Prince's Hall, Piccadilly', *Times*, 19 March 1892. Warwick was top-billed, with Verrinder and Arthur Friedländer (about whom more later in this chapter) listed as conductors.

Noorden' and continued to give recitals and concerts. Walter Van Noorden of the Carl Rosa Opera Company claimed that he and French composer Paul Dukas were 'both nephews of Louisa Dukas (née Van Noorden) formerly well esteemed as an opera singer, and later as a teacher of singing'.[17] Other singers whose names recur in recital notices and concert reviews, and with whose careers Verrinder remained an active contributor, include Grace Lindo, a soprano with 'considerable success as a concert-singer' whose involvement with the West London Synagogue seems to have commenced prior to Verrinder's appointment, and Julia Sydney.[18]

Connections with London's most significant performance venues, societies and musicians serve to demonstrate Verrinder's influence and status within Victorian musical society. They place in context the following examples of instances where he was able to introduce discussions and performances of Jewish musical material to the wider (largely church-based) musical public. To that end, Verrinder was taking advantage of a community of which he was a regular member in order to introduce a typically 'Other' musical genre; in effect, reversing his own role as the 'Other' introducing Anglican-style material to the West London Synagogue. Given the various philo- and anti-Semitic tendencies of his musical colleagues, Verrinder's place as the 'double man' was perhaps both reinforced and subdued in equal measure. It could be hypothesised that Benedict's own German-Jewish heritage may have helped to support Verrinder's recommendation for the Lambeth Degree, particularly when it is considered that such honours were very rarely bestowed on musicians.[19] Conversely, Stainer's known feelings towards Jews presumably made for some uncomfortable gatherings, as I shall explore in due course.

'De-othering' Jewish music education: Correspondence, Lectures and Recitals

As we have already seen, Verrinder's work on Jewish music was complemented by correspondence on the subject in various newspapers and magazines, most notably the *Jewish Chronicle*. Alongside this, his career outside the Synagogue can be traced across other forms of newspaper correspondence and

[17] 'Concerts', *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 July 1881; 'Mr. Henri Loge's Concert', *Era*, 21 January 1888; 'Music', *Truth: A Weekly Journal*, 27 November 1907. Another Van Noorden sister also sang in the choir for a time.

[18] 'Concerts', *Morning Post*, 2 July 1863; Verrinder accompanied Lindo on more than one occasion during solo and choral recitals. Grace's sister, Sarah, was married to Emmanuel Aguilar in 1848; it is clear from concert notices that Aguilar and Grace Lindo collaborated on many musical events, suggesting that any hostilities between Orthodox and Reform families were either non-existent or had been resolved. In fact, knowledge of this link between the Lindo and Aguilar families confirms not only that Verrinder's principal soprano in the West London Synagogue choir was Jewish, but also that the paths of the two composers likely crossed in both Jewish and musical circles. Julia Sydney regularly held 'Grand Evening Concerts', for which Verrinder often conducted or accompanied; see 'Miss Julia Sydney's Evening Concert' and 'Beethoven Rooms', *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 February 1875 and 26 May 1878.

[19] A brief discussion of Benedict in David Conway's *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 110, mentions his 'comfortable but overall mediocre career' in London as an opera and concert conductor, with little reference to how his Jewish background affected his professional status.

reporting. Verrinder wrote to the *Jewish Chronicle* to notify the public of choir vacancies, to express his views on certain musical developments or discussions (particularly where his name had already been mentioned), and to announce performances by, for example, the Musical Society of London, of which he was Secretary in the late 1860s. It is likely that he was also responsible for announcements of his professional appointments, awards, and performances, which themselves give an indication of his esteem outside the Synagogue. Similar notices can also be found in the *Musical Times*, *Musical Standard* and *Musical World*, among others. Generally, notices relating to Jewish music remained the remit of the *Jewish Chronicle*, although Verrinder's interest in this area was noted in a number of musical and national magazines and journals, as I shall highlight in due course. To that end, Verrinder's multi-faceted career introduced the Jewish and non-Jewish Victorian public to a new type of Jewish music: one that was alive, developing and integrated with other social and cultural activity, while simultaneously strongly connected to its ancient roots.

Perhaps the most significant of Verrinder's correspondence on synagogue music outside of the *Jewish Chronicle* is one of his earliest, which tackled this subject of a living Jewish musical culture head on. His letter to the *Musical Standard* in May 1867 responded to an ongoing series titled 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews'.[20] Verrinder took particular offence to the third article in the series, which 'easily disposed' of the music of the West London Synagogue, accusing the addition of harmonisation and organ accompaniment to ancient melodies of having 'so utterly destroyed their natural colour and distinctive oriental character that they are quite valueless as specimens of the Jewish music of antiquity'.[21] It is clear from such criticism – amongst the admission that the musical standards of the Synagogue were nonetheless of significant quality – that the reporter was more concerned with what he referred to as the 'true' sound of Jewish music; as such, he accused the West London Synagogue of failing to demonstrate the 'otherness' which the British public associated with Judaism and its culture. It is striking that this account, written by someone from outside the Jewish faith, continued to play into this Victorian fascination with the 'Other', despite attempts from inside to demonstrate their social and cultural integration.

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[20] 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews', *Musical Standard*, 16 March, 6 April, 4 May and 25 May 1867. The series is written by 'M.'; my thanks to Leanne Langley for confirming to me that the identity of this individual is rather cryptic, and for provisionally suggesting Charles Donald Maclean (1843-1916) as the potential author. Maclean's conservative background and training under German-Jewish composer Ferdinand Hiller would explain the knowledge of German musical activity and dismissive attitudes towards Reform practices evident in this series of articles. See 'Maclean, Dr. Charles Donald', *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Robert Evans and Maggie Humphreys (London: Mansell, 1997), 221; also Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 191-193 for information on Hiller. Evans and Humphreys claim that Maclean 'unsuccessfully contested' the position of Principal of the Guildhall School of Music in 1892, a post for which Verrinder applied; both lost out to Joseph Barnby. Mclean's name does not feature in the list of candidates published in the press at the time; see as an example 'Guildhall School of Music', *Times*, 18 March 1892.

[21] 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews', *Musical Standard*, 4 May 1867.

Verrinder launched his retort with an acknowledgement that the histories of Jewish and Christian music are intrinsically linked, indicating that 'our [Christian] Liturgy has been framed on their model, that many of the sentences and prayers of our Church are copied from the Jewish formula'.[22] With regards to the West London Synagogue, which he stated had 'received but scant justice at the writer's hands', he questioned the dismissal of new musical practices as a subject of interest: '[h]as then the synagogue service no interest for the student of ancient and modern sacred music?' With that in mind, his defence of the Synagogue's musical decisions – and those of other synagogues whose practices had recently adapted – mirrored David Woolf Marks' words at the West London Synagogue's inauguration ceremony of 1859:

> Can it be the opinion of your readers that synagogue music ought not to take the impress of the country in which they live – ought not to advance with the times, but continue ever to use music of a decidedly "Eastern character?" Admitted that the Jews cling with great affection to everything endeared to them by centuries of persecution; but should they stultify themselves by resisting the claims of reason and common sense when better times dawn, and equal rights are accorded them?[23]

It is likely that Verrinder's particular issue with the *Musical Standard* report stemmed principally from its acknowledgement that Charles Salaman had 'undertaken the task of harmonising and remodelling the form of the ancient […] melodies', and that he had 'fulfilled [this task] with considerable ability'.[24] Verrinder's desire to correctly notify the paper that it was his own task is the first example of an ongoing dispute over copyright and ownership which can be traced through discussions in the national press, most notably in the *Jewish Chronicle*. However, as I discussed in Chapter Two, this letter also provided some helpful indications regarding his earliest responsibilities at the Synagogue and the musical practice he inherited and developed. Moreover, it gives us insight into Verrinder's own assumptions about how his work (and his appointment) fitted in with the narrative of a shared and growing Jewish-Christian musical practice:

> It was a bold innovation on the part of the reformed sect in Margaret Street to determine upon the erection of an organ in their synagogue in 1859; but will it not be conceded that a spirit of liberality of feeling undreamed of existed amongst those who were regarded as ultra-conservative, when out of a mixed body of over fifty candidates for the advertised organ post a *Christian* was elected to play it? […] The many compositions I have

[22] 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews', *Musical Standard*, 11 May 1867.
[23] 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews', *Musical Standard*, 11 May 1867.
[24] 'On the Synagogue Music of the Jews', *Musical Standard*, 4 May 1867.

> introduced since 1859 have been framed upon the cathedral type, the words being particularly soft as pronounced by the Portuguese and Spanish Jews.

This notion that Sephardi pronunciation (and practice) was more 'refined' than Ashkenazi pronunciation had a long history, and had been a concern of many early Reform communities across Europe.[25] However, Verrinder's suggestion that it also suited the 'cathedral type' of choral singing indicated his understanding of the type of sound that would elevate the spirits; for him, Latinate vowels and soft consonants were a means of reflecting the Anglican style of singing to which most choirs across the country aspired. In his role as organist and choirmaster, his aim was to create the most appropriate sound for devotional worship, and this remained a constant regardless of whether the music was used in the synagogue or the church.

Verrinder's defence of his music for the West London Synagogue was perhaps not just for the benefit of 'M.' and readers of the *Musical Standard*. The supposed purity of ancient Jewish musical traditions, and the subsequent dismissal of 'new' Jewish music, advantaged many British musicologists and music historians throughout the nineteenth century. Bennett Zon has identified numerous histories of music published in Britain which ignored later Jewish traditions in favour of ancient 'Hebrew' music or music of 'the Jews', which was celebrated for providing a basis for an ultimately more refined Christian music. Zon notes German-born Carl Engel's treatment of the 'evolutionary stasis' of Hebrew music in his 1864 *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, which focused on musical details from the Bible and ignored 'synagogal (and heathen)' aspects of Jewish musical history in order to defend Christian – and, more broadly, Western – musical superiority and integrity.[26] Zon refers to the 'scientific' approach of Engel's work, 'a book designed to explore descent'. Inspired by the growing popularity of Darwin's theories, Engel reinforced the opinions of other contemporary musicians – Zon mentions John Stainer among others – who displayed 'a soft, passive musical anti-Semit[ism]' which enabled them to view ancient Hebrew music as separate from nineteenth-century Jews and Jewish music.[27] This was also in line with the more strongly-expressed views of poet Matthew Arnold, who

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[25] Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 7, 48-49.

[26] I am grateful to Bennett Zon for sharing with me his lecture, 'Anti-Semitism and Hebrew Music in Carl Engel's *Music of the Most Ancient Nations* (1864)', presented at the 'IAS Christopherson Knott Fellows' Seminar' (Durham University, 2016).

[27] Zon, 'Anti-Semitism and Hebrew Music', 14. Interestingly, Stainer is one of the period's more renowned musicians with whom Verrinder regularly associated, alongside his West London Synagogue colleague, Charles Salaman. He published his own account of ancient Hebrew musical practices in *Music of the Bible* (Novello, Ewer & Co., 1879) which, while well-researched, showed tendencies towards removing notions of an original Hebrew music on the grounds that the Jewish nation were historically either in slavery or engaged in warfare, and thus were less able to create music than the more urban Egyptians, from whom Stainer assumed they adopted most of their early practices (*Music of the Bible*, 5-6).

created a distinction between an accepted Jewish-Christian 'continuity' and a rejected 'racial commonality'.[28]

Presumably the quasi-scientific aspect of such musical histories – found also in the work of music critic Henry Chorley – gave tangibility to a Victorian community which struggled with the 'intimate other', the British Jew, whose nationless existence (and apparent determination to adopt British national loyalty) was difficult to comprehend.[29] Chorley's inclusion of Hebrew music in his *National Music of the World* (written and presented in 1862) under the subsection 'Music from the East' helped to ensure, along with Engel's work, that Jewish music remained understood as 'Other', based in biblical fact.[30] Perhaps more damaging was Chorley's notion that since the destruction of the Temple, Jews had 'timidly, or from jealousy, hidden away their own treasures and [clung] close to their faith in private', subverting the history of persecution which viewed the Jews as a silenced, rather than silent, community. This also imposed a non-scientific, mysterious, and almost 'forbidden' notion of post-Temple Jewish music which, like the apple in the Garden of Eden, illicitly revealed an impurity absent from the Christian musical heritage.[31]

The famous dispersion of Jews from Jerusalem led to a complex picture of music, which could no longer be considered 'Hebrew' but became more closely aligned with the contemporary figure of the 'Jew'. This history was indeed known in the nineteenth century, with figures such as synagogue musician and Jewish historian Francis Cohen (of the 'Blue Book') writing essays and presenting lectures regarding the development of music from the Temple to the middle ages to the present.[32] However, the differing traditions, melodies and chants which originated from this middle period involved a detailed knowledge of Jewish Diaspora across Europe and the Middle East, which thus necessitated an appreciation of independent and variously cultivated and integrated Jewish communities. Chorley's notion of a silent Jewish nation satisfied those whose idea of 'the Jews' was non-specific and 'homogeneous'.

Chorley and Engel's approach to more recent synagogue music reinforced this notion of homogeneity by treating publications such as Aguilar and De Sola's *The Ancient Melodies*, Sulzer's *Schir Zion* and – through an exceptionally brief passing mention – Salaman and Verrinder's volumes as anthologies from which music students could 'pick out' examples of ancient tunes from among easily-dismissed 'modern compositions'.[33] As such, denominational and geographical differences were

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[28] Zon, 'Anti-Semitism and Hebrew Music', 19.

[29] See Introduction for my discussion of Esther Benbassa's work on the Jew as 'Other'.

[30] Henry Fothergill Chorley, *The National Music of the World*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880).

[31] Chorley, *The National Music of the World*, 43.

[32] Francis L. Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London. 1887* (London: Office of the Jewish Chronicle, 1888).

[33] Carl Engel, *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations, particularly of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews; with special reference to recent discoveries in Western Asia and in Egypt*, second edition (London: John Murray,

ignored, as was the role of each respective collection (and others) as an important work of the nineteenth-century Jewish musical canon – both within the synagogue and outside. In fact, the 1857 review of *The Ancient Melodies* printed in the *Athenaeum* and mentioned in Chapter Three, published only a few years prior to Chorley and Engel's compendia, was thus indicative of the continued treatment not only of Aguilar and De Sola's collection, but also of anything related to Jewish practice, as an artefact for study and not for appreciation. While in review *The Music used…* and the 'Blue Book' both fared better, there remained a question of why 'ancient Hebrew music made by modern composers' had 'never passed into [British] concert rooms'.[34] Over the course of the next three decades, Verrinder's aims in this regard were twofold: first, to re-educate the Victorian public on the trajectory of Jewish music following the Bible period (incorporating 'modern compositions'); and second, to introduce this music to the concert hall.

Verrinder gave two of his own lectures on synagogue music: the first in 1877, to the College of Organists; the second as part of his assessment on becoming shortlisted for the Gresham Professorship in 1890. Both were written up in the musical press and incorporated performed examples of both ancient and modern melodies. It appears that the lecture to the College of Organists, entitled 'The Temple Service and Synagogue Music' and presented on 6 February 1877, was inspired by questions posed to Verrinder regarding Jewish practice following E. H. Turpin's lecture at the College on the 'Use of the Orchestra in Church'.[35] Such interest coming out of a paper on church music indicates a desire – among the members of the College of Organists, at least – to draw comparisons between Jewish and Christian practice. Verrinder's paper was delivered in two parts; the first discussing 'the Choir and Orchestra for the Temple Service', the second 'a short history of the movement which resulted in the introduction of the organ in the Synagogue'. While his history of King David's contribution to the composition of the Psalms has more recently been negated, Verrinder's knowledge of biblical musical practice showed 'learning and eloquence', and incorporated details on the scale of musical worship (vocal and instrumental, involving male and female musicians) which David Woolf Marks had also drawn on during his sermon in which the organ had been introduced to – and justified in – the West London Synagogue.[36] His interpretation of the word *magrepha*, while still far removed from its likely original

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1870), 343; *The Literature of National Music* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1879), 65-68. This work was based on an essay published in the *Musical Times* between 1878 and 1879.

[34] Chorley, *The National Music of the World*, 42.

[35] 'The Temple Service and Synagogue Music', *Musical Standard*, 17 February 1877.

[36] 'College of Organists', *Musical Standard*, 10 February 1877. See also David Woolf Marks, 'The Synagogue and the Organ. Preached on the re-consecration of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, Margaret Street, and on the inauguration of the Organ. September 26, 1859.', in *Sermons preached on various occasions, at the West London Synagogue of British Jews, by the Rev. Professor Marks, Minister of the Congregation. Series 2.* (London: Trübner & Co., 1885). It is generally acknowledged that 'A Psalm of David' does not, as is frequently assumed, refer to the fact that the text was composed by King David; rather, it is more likely to be a dedication to the King by another Psalmist. See Lawrence Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction*, second edition (New York: Paulist Press, 2012).

reference to the altar shovel used to gather ashes, is nonetheless a more accurate rendering of Talmudic sources which described the 'fork' shape of the piped instrument apparently used in the Temple, which others have described as a close relative of the church organ but which most likely matched it in power rather than sound quality or image.

Unfortunately, the second half of Verrinder's paper was not reprinted, nor does it exist in the Royal College of Organists' records. The *Musical Standard* only stated that:

> [Verrinder] spoke at considerable length on the state of the Hebrew service music of our day; and concluded with an interesting extract from a Jewish contemporary on modern Hebrew religious thought and hopes.[37]

The identity of the 'Jewish contemporary' is therefore unknown; one could perhaps speculate that it was a colleague or friend of Verrinder's known for their writings and thoughts on Judaism – such as David Woolf Marks or Charles Salaman – but this may not be the case. Moreover, Verrinder's personal account of the history of the organ in nineteenth-century synagogue music would have been extremely enlightening, perhaps answering numerous questions regarding overlaps between British and other European practice, external influences, and suspected controversies. A list of performed examples – apparently including 'some of the most ancient Hebrew melodies' – confirms which pieces were heard in the West London Synagogue at the time. Most striking on the list, which includes a number of pieces from Volumes One and Two of *The Music used…*, among them *Az Yashir Mosheh* and *Tob Lehodot* mentioned in Chapters Two and Three respectively, is the mention of the 'ancient dirge for "Day of Atonement"'.[38] As I shall discuss later in this chapter, this melody was published in an arrangement by Verrinder in 1891, therefore it is useful to know that he had it in his repertoire fourteen years previously. The list does not appear to include any of Verrinder's original compositions, although the ancient melodies contained in *The Music used…* were all his arrangements. It can be assumed that these were all performed for the occasion as an organ solo; given that many of his choral arrangements included organ doubling throughout, this would have been a straightforward adaptation.

Verrinder's lecture outlining 'the origin and authorship of certain Psalms, Hymns, and Tunes, Ancient and Modern', given when he was shortlisted (but ultimately unsuccessful) for the Gresham Professorship in May 1890, is equally vague regarding the musical examples performed.[39] However, the details provided do indicate that, on this occasion, Verrinder was assisted by 'an excellent choir of ladies and gentlemen' – presumably, some or all of the members of the West London Synagogue choir.

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[37] 'The Temple Service and Synagogue Music', *Musical Standard*, 17 February 1877.

[38] 'The Temple Service and Synagogue Music', *Musical Standard*.

[39] 'The Gresham Chair of Music', Supplement, *Musical Standard*, 10 May 1890. The Gresham Professorship in Music is currently held by Marina Frolova-Walker (University of Cambridge). More information from the Gresham College website (accessed 17 April 2020), www.gresham.ac.uk. Interestingly, on the date of access, a lecture by Eliot Alderman titled 'The History of Synagogue Music in London' was being advertised for 21 April 2020 (postponed to a later date in light of COVID-19).

Moreover, they performed renditions of Psalms 23, 95 and 150, alongside 'other examples of Hebrew music'. With the exception of the latter, which closed the lecture and was almost certainly Verrinder's triumphal composition found in Volume 2 of *The Music used…*, the remaining Psalms listed do not feature in Verrinder's existing Synagogue volumes; nor do they appear in his later volumes. One can conclude, therefore, that these Psalms originated in Verrinder's Psalter; this is confirmed by the fact that Verrinder announced at the start of his lecture that the audience would hear, 'probably for the first time, the Psalms rendered in Hebrew, to Anglican Chants'.[40] Given that all we know of the Psalter is that it was compiled prior to 1886, this further information perhaps indicates that Verrinder's Anglican Psalm settings were relatively unknown even during his lifetime – more so than his other volumes of synagogue music.

The *Musical Standard* only provides sections of this lecture, which apparently 'traced the progress of Sacred Song in the East, from the Exodus to the final dispersion' before approaching 'the pioneers of Musical Art in the West', focussing on different types of chant and how these have inspired metrical psalm and hymn settings.[41] Verrinder's conclusion was that he hoped – as had been the case of Leon's 'Yigdal' tune – that 'Hebrew melodies […] may become popular and be more generally known and appreciated'. The report stated that the musical examples included in the lecture were performed 'to the great delight of the audience, who testified their approbation by frequent and hearty applause'. It is unclear exactly what examples were heard (with the likely exception of Verrinder's Psalm 150), and whether these 'other examples of Hebrew music' in addition to Anglican settings of Hebrew Psalms included so-called 'ancient melodies' of the kind performed in Verrinder's lecture to the College of Organists. To that end, we cannot know whether the audience's positivity was in response to hearing familiar-sounding chants with unfamiliar text, or to a more broadly unfamiliar repertoire made accessible through the use of choir and organ. However, Verrinder's desire for a greater appreciation of Jewish music is evident, as is his recurring theme of uniting common Anglican practice with its earliest Jewish heritage.

By contributing lectures and writings on Jewish music and practice to mainstream musical societies and journals – particularly through such eminent bodies as the College of Organists and Gresham College – Verrinder continued to attempt to 'normalise' it for the wider British public. His defence of the West London Synagogue in his letter of 1867 seemed predominantly to take offence to the writer's implications that Jewish music was, and should remain, fundamentally different to its new, Western surroundings. By contrast, Verrinder's presentations not only highlighted the musical heritage shared between Judaism and Christianity, but also defended their development across time and space. By incorporating performed examples of ancient Hebrew melodies harmonised and arranged to nineteenth-century musical taste, Hebrew liturgy set to new compositions (usually Verrinder's own)

[40] 'The Gresham Chair of Music', Supplement, *Musical Standard*.
[41] 'The Gresham Chair of Music', Supplement, *Musical Standard*.

and even set to Anglican chant, Verrinder demonstrated the level of cultural crossover that could occur in contemporary practice. Moreover, he did so while also establishing that this was, contrary to the understanding of many, not a new phenomenon.

'Jewish' publications beyond the Synagogue: *Israel*; *Hear my Cry, O God*; and *Kol Nidrei*

As well as providing academic writing on Jewish music such as the lectures and correspondence mentioned above, Verrinder contributed musical compositions which aimed to break down barriers between the synagogue, church, and secular performing space, proving through his own work that Jewish music and practice need not be treated separately. The previous chapter addressed in detail Verrinder's major work of Jewish liturgical music, *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*. While likely published with the intention of reaching beyond the synagogue to non-Jewish communities, this collection's principal purpose was almost certainly for use by Jewish choirs and congregations (with or without organ accompaniment). However, within his not insubstantial list of compositions and publications, Verrinder contributed three other works with Jewish themes, texts or origins which had a life outside – and in one case, entirely separate to – the Synagogue.

A year after the publication of the first volume of *The Music used…*, Verrinder completed his Bachelor of Music at New College, Oxford. For this degree, he submitted an 'exercise', a cantata entitled *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance*. Many composers – Jewish and otherwise – wrote similar works inspired by Old Testament themes during this period. However, Susan Wollenberg has discussed what she calls the 'unique' theme of Verrinder's degree exercise, which 'reflect[ed] the prevailing ethos of his work for the synagogue rather more than his affiliation to the church tradition'.[42] The Oxford Music degree 'w[as] seen as closely linked' with those in the church music profession; until the 1850s it was assessed through the performance of a composition, with no examination of academic musical knowledge or technical skills (such as analysis or harmony and counterpoint).[43] While a more rigorous examination system was introduced in 1856 which incorporated these elements, it was still principally undertaken by musicians working professionally as church organists and composers. Therefore, a cantata which became known in later years simply as *Israel* must have been at least unusual among the pool of compositions presented within this context, and would have been reinforced – as Wollenberg has acknowledged – by Verrinder's list of professional positions which included 'organist at the London Reform Synagogue'.[44]

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[42] Danielle Padley and Susan Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder: London's First Synagogue Organist', forthcoming in *Ad Parnassum Studies* 12 (2020): 168.

[43] Susan Wollenberg, 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume VII: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 2*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 429.

[44] Padley and Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder', 168.

According to requirements of the Oxford Music degree, Verrinder's composition would have been 'a piece of music in four parts, with organ and string accompaniment'.[45] By the time of its publication, *Israel* was reduced to vocal score with piano accompaniment (with some string and harp markings remaining), although the chorus parts often included an additional (second) tenor line, or occasionally a double choir. Published by Novello in 1874, Verrinder dedicated this edition to Frederick Ouseley, who had not only recommended him for the Mus. Doc. Cantuar the previous year, but who had also been the leading force behind improving the quality of Oxford Music degrees in the mid-1850s.[46] As such, a review of the cantata in the *Musical Times* was accurate in emphasising Verrinder's 'scholastic learning and […] intimate acquaintance with the best works of the best masters' which were evident throughout the work, although this opinion was balanced by an indication that greater originality might have made for a more interesting composition.[47] References to Handelian and Mendelssohnian movements (although particular pieces were not specified) also highlight Verrinder's inspiration taken from two composers famous for works celebrating Old Testament themes, as well as for their connections to English music, the unifying of Old and New Testament liturgy and, in Mendelssohn's case, to Judaism. Given Verrinder's combination of professional roles, such inspiration – musically and liturgically – perhaps indicated his dedication to unifying the Jewish and Christian musical worlds, as well as to his own desire to follow in the footsteps of great masters.

Israel is in two parts; the first, significantly longer section incorporates texts which establish Israel's 'Adversity', while the shorter, second part focusses on celebratory texts which indicate Israel's 'Happy Deliverance'. Interestingly, the 1874 edition of *Israel* indicates two movements – the Contralto solo 'If ye be willing and obedient' in Part 1 (No. 7) and the first section of the double chorus 'Sing unto the Lord' in Part 2 (No. 15) – which appear to have been written in 'July 1854', according to the date written at the end of each of these movements. As such, they were likely composed during Verrinder's apprenticeship with Elvey and his employment at Holy Trinity, Windsor; therefore, several years prior to his association with the West London Synagogue or Oxford University. Verrinder's earliest compositions were published by J. Surman, although I have not found evidence that either of these movements were published separately as part of his compositional output from the 1850s.[48]

Given the unusual subject matter, and in the absence of a credited librettist, one can assume that Verrinder himself compiled the texts for use in *Israel*. The majority of the text used in the cantata

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[45] Susan Wollenberg, 'Music', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 431. Wollenberg is quoting from Abdy Williams' *Degrees in Music* (1893), 41, which outlined requirements laid out by Frederick Ouseley in 1856.

[46] Charles Garland Verrinder, *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance: A Sacred Cantata, in two parts, with Overture & Intermezzo* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1874). Vocal parts were available to buy for four shillings. See also Wollenberg, 'Music', 430.

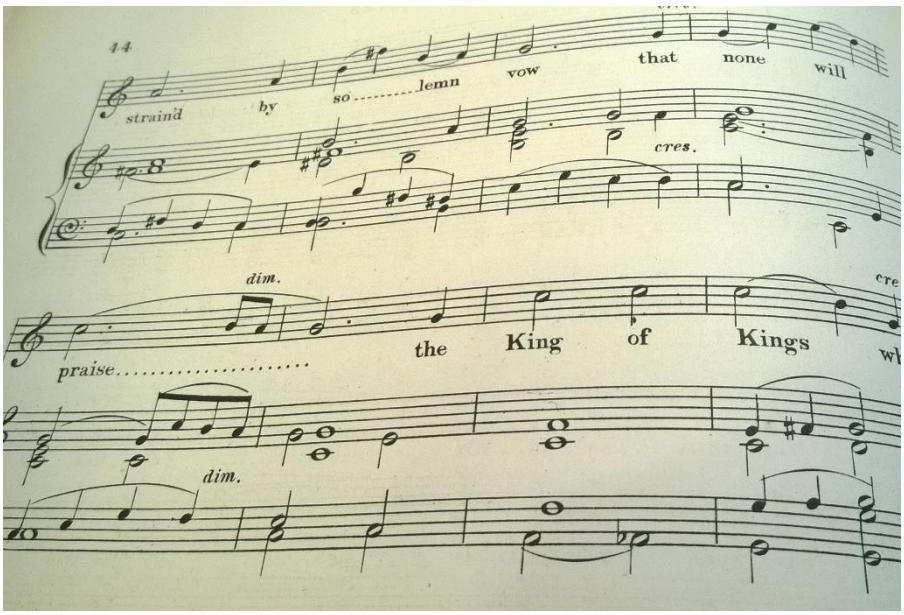
[47] 'Reviews', *Musical Times*, 1 August 1874.

[48] A list of Verrinder's other works published by J. Surman appeared on his composition *O Sing unto the Lord a New Song* (not the same work as that of a similar title in *Israel*, although also written for double chorus); this mentions *Out of the Deep* (published 1857) and *Sanctus and Kyrie Eleison in D* (date unknown).

comes almost verbatim from the King James' version of Isaiah (principally Chapter 1), along with two verses from Psalm 130 and a selection of verses and lines from a hymn, 'Why sleeps the harp of Judah now?'. This hymn, written by Reverend Thomas Kelly, refers to themes found in Psalm 137, and is used narratively by Verrinder in movements 9 and 10, starting as a question posed by 'one of the sons of the Prophets' (hymn verse 2 to verse 3 line 2), followed by a response by a 'Chorus of Israelites' (hymn verse 3 line 3 and verse 6).[49] One further source can be identified in this work, which provides a couplet interrupting Kelly's text:

> 'Chastised, O Lord, cast out by Thee
>
> O grant us still Thy face to see.'

This text appears in an anonymous hymn (loosely) based on Psalm 60 found in a collection of 'Christian Psalmody' first published in 1837.[50]



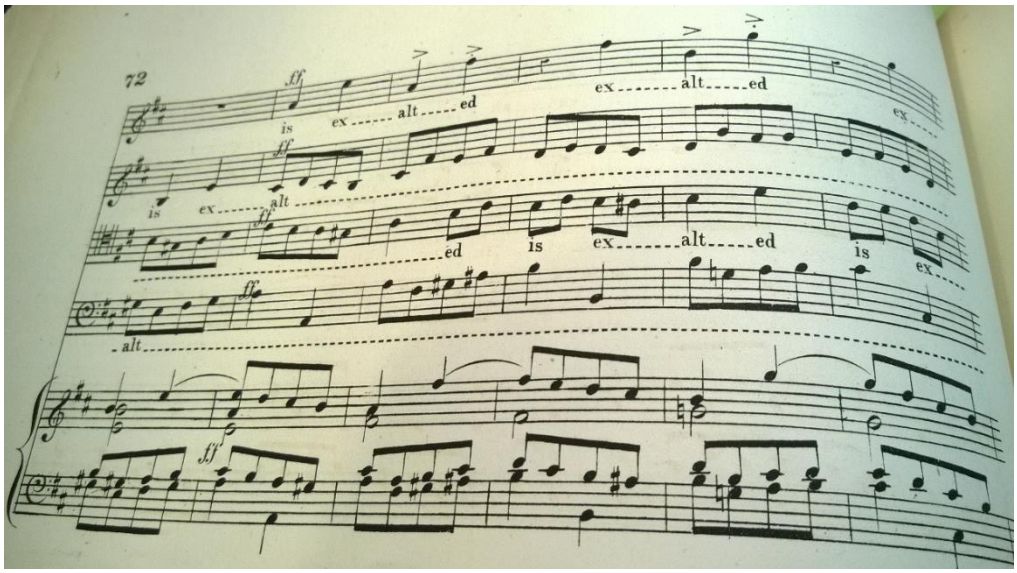
Example 1: C. G. Verrinder, *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance*, Movement 9. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections I.657.b.(5.).

Aside from the appropriate subject matter of these two hymn texts, the publication origins also seem carefully considered to appease both Christian and Jewish audiences. Kelly's publisher Marcus Moses, as his name suggests, was the son of a converted Jew, while the adaptation of Psalm 60 is prefaced by the words '[h]umiliation in time of national divisions'. As such, Verrinder appears to have

[49] An example of this hymn can be found in Thomas Kelly, *Hymns on Various Passages of Scripture*, revised edition (Dublin: M. Moses, 1850), 98.

[50] *Christian Psalmody: Comprising a version of all the Psalms, and a selection of Hymns, adapted to the Services and Festivals of the Church of England, by several Clergymen* (Liverpool: Joseph Davenport, 1837), 69.

chosen an entire liturgical text which not only originates from the shared Old Testament, but which emphasises the flexible nature with which such texts can be adapted and used by Jews and Christians alike, at a time when religious division was akin to national division. It is worth mentioning here that the word 'Israel' for a Victorian audience had greater associations with an 'Israelitish nation' (to quote David De Sola) than with geographical location; as such, the story told in this cantata is one inherently about the universal Jewish people and their heritage. In fact, the only direct use of New Testament material is found in Kelly's line '[t]hat none will praise the "King of Kings"', Kelly's quotation marks indicating his adoption of text from Revelation 19:16; here, Verrinder particularly imitates Handel's famous use of the same text in his 'Hallelujah' chorus by incorporating a three-minim motif on a static C5 in the soprano solo line (Example 1).

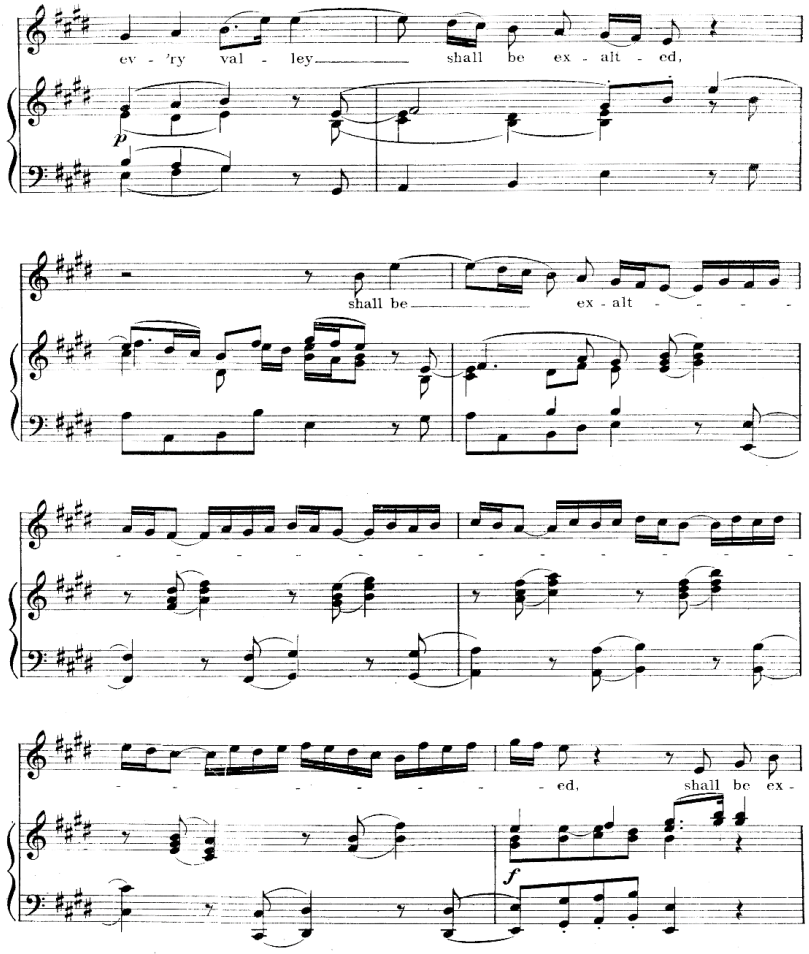


Example 2a: C. G. Verrinder, *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance*, Movement 15. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections I.657.b.(5.).

Alongside the use of the 'King of Kings' text and melodic motif, Verrinder's predominant use of Isaiah texts also reinforce the Handelian inspiration behind *Israel*, emulating the Hebrew prophesy which provided the basis of Jennens' libretto for *Messiah*. Another moment of clear influence is the extensive melismatic writing over the word 'exalted' in the Fugue 'Make mention that his name is exalted' (part of Verrinder's final movement), which reflects Handel's setting of the same word in *Messiah*'s tenor solo, 'Every valley shall be exalted' (Examples 2a-b).[51] Similar drawing together of Handel's writing style and elements of Jennens' libretto can be found across other movements, such as the soprano solo 'Sing, O ye heavens', which not only replicates the key and coloratura style of Handel's

[51] Elements of the fugal writing also indicate inspiration taken from *Zadok the Priest*, which perhaps also indicates Verrinder's turning to Handel not just as a master of liturgical texts, but also of their use in musical works upholding British values and institutions.

'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion', but also imitates the rising movement on the repeated opening word (Example 3a-b). The Mendelssohnian influence is less obvious; The *Musical Times*' reviewers detected it particularly in the contralto aria from 1854 (although they claim that they are unable 'to assert that the notes are the same that occur in any composition of [Mendelssohn's] with which we are acquainted'), which suggests that it was a less deliberate compositional decision than Verrinder's



Example 2b: G. F. Handel, *Messiah*, Part 1 Movement 3.

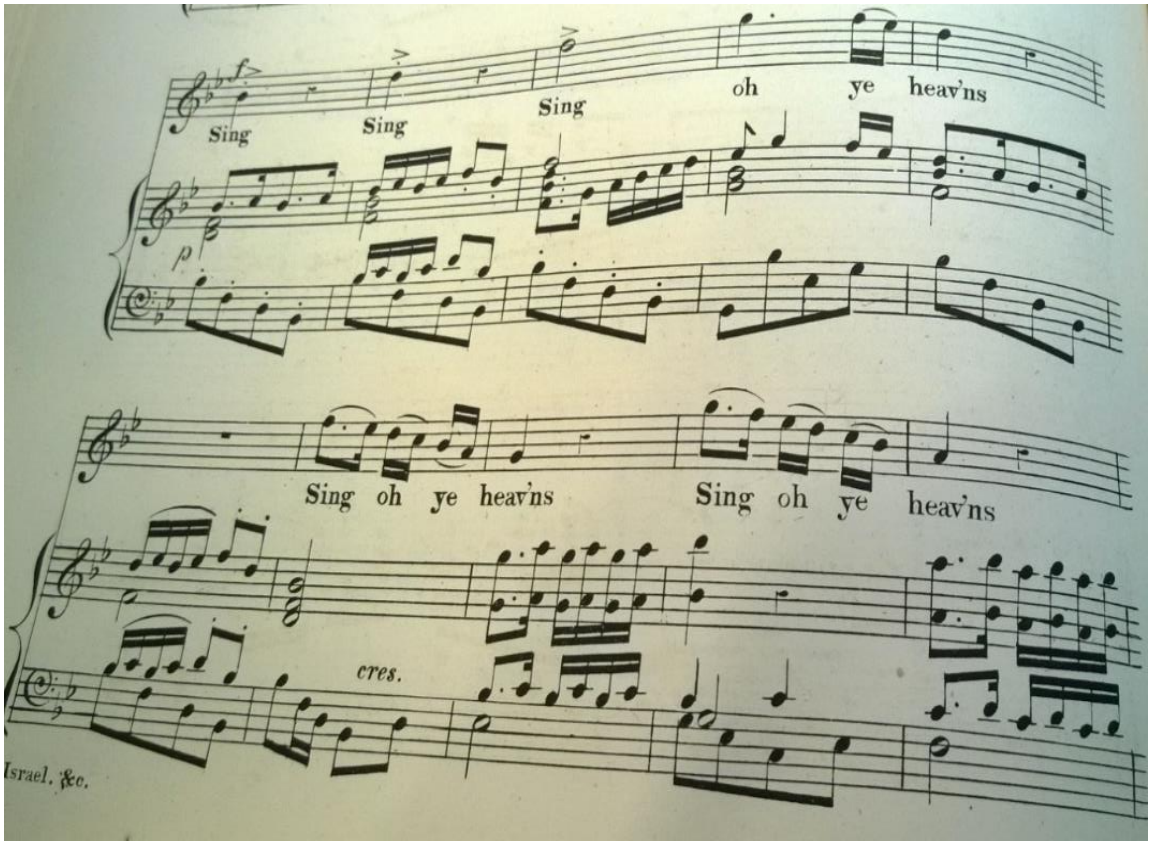
inclusion of more Handelian moments, written specifically for the work in 1862.[52]

Reviews of *Israel* – both in publication and performance – focused on the quality of the music and its execution, rather than on the text and its biblical interpretation.[53] However, speculation on Verrinder's subject matter, text selection and thematic material have caused me to hypothesise whether he intended *Israel* to portray multiple messages to various communities. The focus on Israel's 'Adversity', embodied in texts from Isaiah's earliest chapters, followed by a brief exposition

[52] 'Reviews', *Musical Times*.

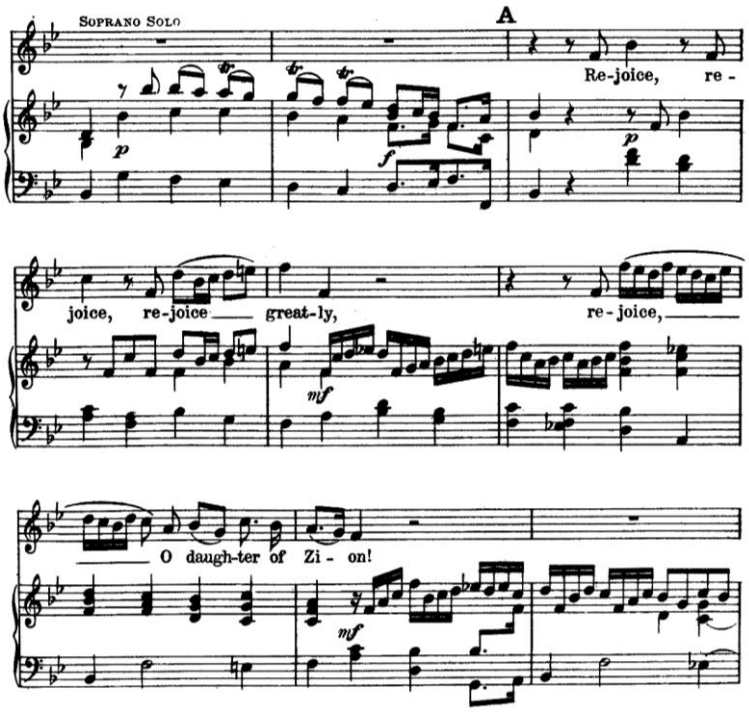
[53] 'Concerts for the Poor', *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 March 1891.

highlighting its redemption, could represent contemporary themes of Jewish new-found assimilation following centuries of persecution. The almost-exclusive use of Old Testament scripture (or texts based around it) made it acceptable to a musically interested Jewish community, particularly in terms of performance. Indeed, in 1891 Verrinder conducted a performance of the work by the 'Hebrew Choral Association', whose activities I will discuss shortly.[54] For a Christian audience, this balance in favour of more punitive texts with a glimpse of positivity could appease those with the belief that the arrival of the Messiah, as laid out prophetically in later chapters of Isaiah and more explicitly in the Gospel, is the only means of true redemption. To that end, Handel's *Messiah* narrates a Christian ending to a Jewish story. With that in mind, Verrinder's mirroring of one of *Messiah*'s principal texts – with greater emphasis on the adversity rather than the 'deliverance' – could be seen to provide with *Israel* a prologue or 'prequel' to Handel's oratorio. Verrinder thus supplied British musical society with a work comprehensible to Jewish ideas of lineage and Christian notions of legacy, while also affirming his professional identity as a serious composer of sacred music providing completion to one of the previous century's greatest works.



Example 3a: C. G. Verrinder, *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance*, Movement 14. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections I.657.b.(5.).

[54] 'Concerts for the Poor', *Jewish Chronicle*.



Example 3b: G. F. Handel, *Messiah*, Part 1 Movement 18.

Such claims may seem bold given the context of Verrinder's relatively unknown place in musical history; however, they are supported by textual and musical links and knowledge of Verrinder's professional and religious musical practice as laid out over the course of this dissertation. Two further works published by Novello reaffirm his aims to introduce Jewish themes to Christian society, while remaining firmly established in British musical custom. It is worth reiterating that the majority of Verrinder's work in this regard – beyond his early arrangements for the West London Synagogue – was undertaken in the 1880s and 1890s, during a period of mass immigration of over 50,000 Jews from Central and Eastern Europe which dominated the public mindset regarding themes of Jewishness and Jews.[55] By this point a normalised and well-loved figure of West London Synagogue services (indicated by the numerous gifts presented to him from the 1870s onwards), Verrinder's position as a mainstay of British music-making was presumably to his advantage, making his role as a musical mediator (for the second time) between Anglo-Jewish and Victorian society a crucial aspect of the Synagogue's attempts to demonstrate its 'British' roots.[56]

[55] Todd Endelman notes that, while it is hard to know exactly how many Jews arrived in Britain during this period, the twenty years between 1880 and the early1900s saw on overage 'from three to eight thousand persons' per year. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain: 1656-2000* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), 128.

[56] The earliest reported example of gifts presented to Verrinder by the choir of the West London Synagogue was reported in the *Musical Standard*, *Musical World*, and *Musical Times* in August/September 1872, following the presentation of an ivory inscribed baton (an accompanying case was also presented by the choir of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate). Verrinder was also gifted a gold watch (*Musical Times*, 1 September 1887) and later a matching chain (*Musical News*, 20 November 1897), both in honour of Queen Victoria's respective Jubilee celebrations,

While the West London Synagogue – and many others – had routinely acknowledged Royal and State celebrations and events, Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in June 1887 marked a significant occasion through which British Jews could demonstrate their loyalty and similitude.[57] A special 'Jubilee supplement' of the *Jewish Chronicle* described the particular gratitude felt by the Anglo-Jewish community towards the Queen, outlined in an address made by the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association:

> The British Jews have special cause to rejoice at your Majesty's Jubilee, for during your Majesty's reign the disabilities under which they laboured have one by one been removed, and they now fully participate in the civil and political rights enjoyed by the rest of your Majesty's subjects.[58]

The Jubilee supplement also summarised the numerous celebrations held across the country's synagogues, with many services – held principally on the Jubilee itself, a Tuesday, or the following Sunday – incorporating musical performances of a quality not seen in regular worship, many including instrumental music due to it not being a Sabbath or Festival. The Great Synagogue in Duke's Place – where Myer Leon had once been *Chazan* – was complimented for its orchestra, the commentator noting that the Synagogue 'was never the scene of so admirable and so imposing a musical service'. However, it was also acknowledged that this addition did not make up for 'the absence of an organ capable of doing justice to the music in so large an edifice', nor for the 'usual […] notable dearth of true soprano voices, which occasionally caused the performance to lack sweetness, and which irresistibly suggested the thought that a few female recruits would have been a desirable addition.'[59] In comparison with Verrinder's regular musical forces at the West London Synagogue's imposing Upper Berkeley Street building (to which the congregation moved in 1870), even those with the most community and financial support fell short in their attempts to create a musical form of worship which both adhered and appealed to British cultural sensitivities.

Part of the West London Synagogue's own celebrations, which included 'very effective' musical contributions, was the performance of Verrinder's 'especially composed' setting of Psalm 61, *Hear my cry O God*.[60] Little more is said of the composition other than that the tenor soloist was a Harry Simon Samuel, and that the performance was 'much admired'. However, an edition of the piece appeared two months later published by Novello, advertised in the *Musical Times*' list of new

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and the sum of £100 (*Musical News*, 23 June 1900). Such gifts indicate not only Verrinder's status within the Synagogue, but also the relative affluence of the community.

[57] This section includes discussions and themes outlined in Danielle Padley, 'Tracing Jewish Music beyond the Synagogue: Charles Garland Verrinder's *Hear my cry O God*', in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (online 2019) https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479409819000193.

[58] 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 June 1887.

[59] 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[60] 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*. Verrinder's composition is incorrectly listed as a setting of Psalm 16.

publications under its English title and with attention drawn to its setting with 'English and Hebrew Words'.[61] Within a list of Novello's most recent publications, which included compositions by Moscheles and Rosalind F. Ellicott – one of the period's more prominent female composers – and a variety of sacred and secular works, Verrinder's composition is stylistically not out of place, yet linguistically striking. Unlike other published settings of Old Testament material (including 'Ruth – A Dramatic Cantata' by Frederic H. Cowen, which featured on the same *Musical Times* new publications list as Verrinder's composition), *Hear my cry O God* makes an obvious reference to its language of origin and thus its Jewish heritage, while also leaving the work accessible to those outside the Jewish sphere by incorporating an English translation.[62] In fact, as far as I can identify, it seems to be the first standalone piece of music publicised in the musical press which incorporated both Hebrew and English texts, preceded only by Abraham Saqui's collection *Songs of Israel*, his anthology of works used in the Princes Road Synagogue in Liverpool published in 1878 (see Chapter Two). Prior to *Hear my cry O God*, published works with synagogue or Hebrew origins appeared to be either unapologetically exclusive to Jewish congregations, institutions and performers through the use of Hebrew throughout (such as Verrinder's and Aguilar's synagogue music volumes), or they were re-purposed or written so as to almost entirely remove their link to the source through a solely English text (such as Isaac Nathan's *Hebrew Melodies* or Charles Salaman's own anthem *How Lovely are Thy habitations*, which was an English setting of Psalm 84 previously composed for the West London Synagogue).[63] Indeed, the dual language setting of Verrinder's work makes it seem a natural progression from his prior Old Testament publication, *Israel*; where the earlier composition introduced the British public to an explicitly Jewish narrative, *Hear my cry O God* drew them closer through access to the Hebrew language.

Perhaps most interesting, given that *Hear my cry O God* began its performative life as a Hebrew setting at the West London Synagogue, is the new focus on its English title and text (as advertised in the *Musical Times*). While making the work more appealing and accessible to a British audience, this also ensured its place as an 'anthem' – a genre then firmly associated with the Anglican Church. Verrinder himself assigned the work to this genre, as demonstrated not only by its description in the

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[61] 'During the last month, published by Novello, Ewer & Co', *Musical Times*, 1 September 1887.

[62] Frederic Hymen Cowen (1852-1935), born Hymen Frederic Cohen, was of Jewish origin, although he focussed his career away from synagogue music. A profile of Cowen published in the *Musical Times* ('Frederic Hymen Cowen', 1 November 1898) strikingly did not mention his Jewish roots, but referred to him throughout as an 'English' composer and musician, despite his being a 'Colonial product', having been born in Jamaica. Interestingly, Cowen's early training was undertaken with Benedict and Goss, both of whom have strong links with Verrinder. See Joseph Jacobs and Goodman Lipkind, 'Cowen, Frederick Hymen', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 6 July 2020) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4719-cowen-frederic-hymen.

[63] The Musical Times correctly identified that Salaman's setting was 'probably set to the Psalm in Hebrew, and the English version adapted to it afterwards' (*Musical Times*, 1 November 1874). The composition first appeared in Volume 2 of *The Music used…*, arranged with organ accompaniment by Verrinder. It was the subject of a heated debate between the two musicians in the *Jewish Chronicle* (24 October to 14 November 1873) regarding the ownership of the piece in its published arrangement.

published edition, but also by its publication side-by-side with Verrinder's setting of the National Anthem. This dedication appears on the Novello score:

> This Anthem was composed for the service held at THE WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE of British Jews, and dedicated to the members of the congregation
>
> To celebrate the Jubilee of
>
> HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA
>
> June 21st 1887
>
> At the conclusion of the service the following setting of The National Anthem was sung, and also in St. Michael's Church, Chester Square.[64]

These details are corroborated in the *Jewish Chronicle*'s Jubilee edition, which stated that the National Anthem was 'heartily sung in English by the whole congregation', with a solo first verse performed by Miss Rose Albu.[65] The *Jewish Chronicle* made no mention of an English translation of the Psalm which, given comments throughout the newspaper regarding the use of English during the celebrations across the country, indicates that it was indeed performed originally in Hebrew.[66] The above dedication also indicates that, although Verrinder's National Anthem was performed at St Michael's, Chester Square (where he was the organist), *Hear my cry O God* was probably not; I have not found any evidence in either the press or the Church's records to contradict this. The English text, then, was likely added at a (slightly) later date, for the benefit of those who might wish to perform the anthem during future church or cathedral services.

Novello's published score of *Hear my cry O God* allows for greater scrutiny concerning Verrinder's prioritisation of English over Hebrew text. In three sections (solo aria, recitative and full chorus), the anthem's structure reflects the Psalm text, which moves from themes of private prayer (verses one to five, sung by the soloist) to the subject of public worship (verses six to eight, sung by the chorus). The final choral section, however, is further separated from the solo sections by a substantial organ interlude, although it resolves a brief transition to the dominant key, F major, which occurred in the recitative, by returning to the opening key, B flat major. It is also the text of the final three verses

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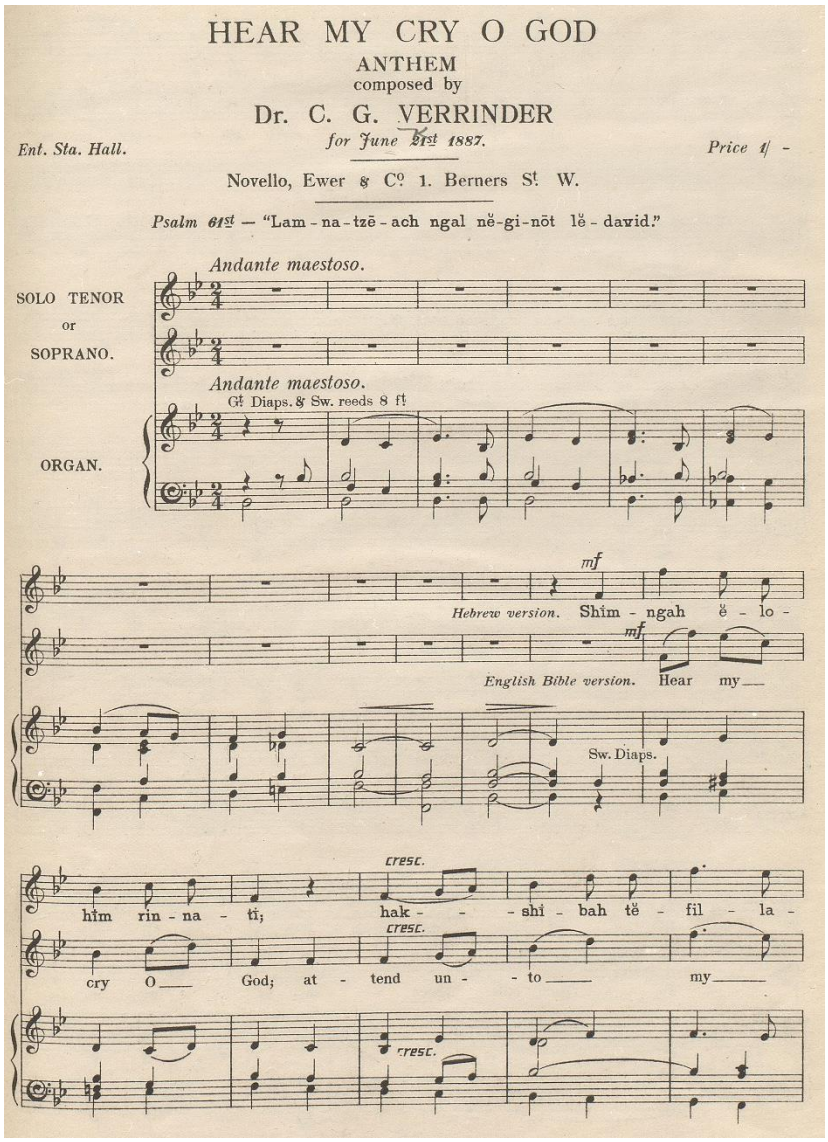
[64] C. G. Verrinder, *Hear my cry O God. Anthem, composed for 21st June 1887* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1887).

[65] 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[66] In many synagogues, the use of English was still unusual; even the National Anthem was performed in Hebrew (or a combination of Hebrew and English) in the Great Synagogue and in Cardiff, Birmingham and Grimsby; see 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*.

that relate most clearly to the Jubilee celebrations (albeit with reference to 'King' David rather than Queen Victoria).



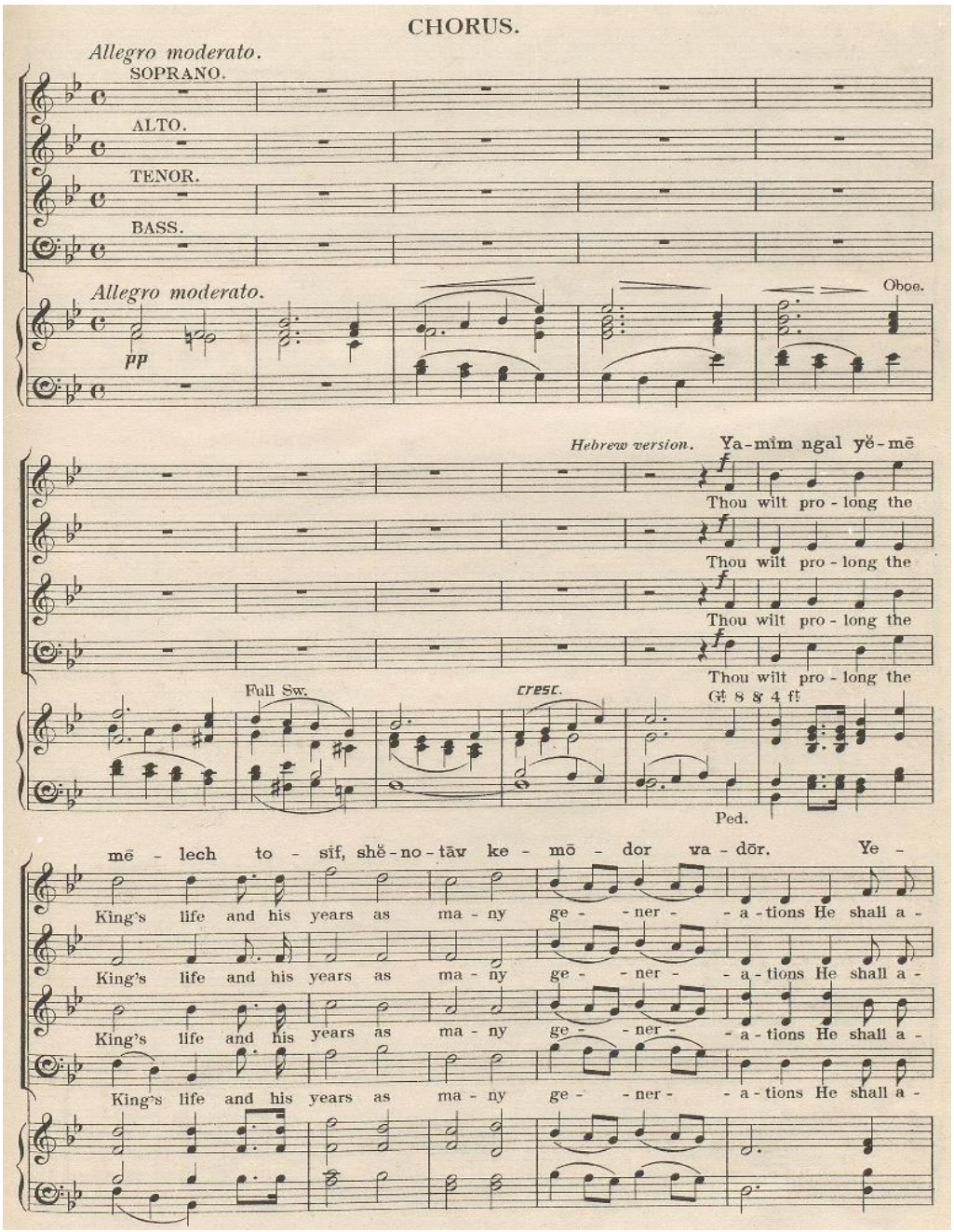
Example 4: C. G. Verrinder, *Hear my cry O God*. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections F.231.c.(38.).

To that end, an interesting shift occurs in the physical layout of the Psalm text. Throughout the solo sections, the Hebrew and English language is allocated an independent line of music, the melody amended to suit the scansion of the respective text. At these points, two elements highlight a prioritisation of the original Hebrew: first, the melody set to Hebrew text is placed higher on the page than that set to English, implying that the latter is optional, rather than equal; second, the Hebrew text itself is, from a singer's perspective, better suited to the melody with regards to textual emphasis, punctuation, and vocal technique. On the first page, for instance, the compression in the English setting of the first two notes (an octave jump from F4 to F5) to form two quavers starting on the downbeat is

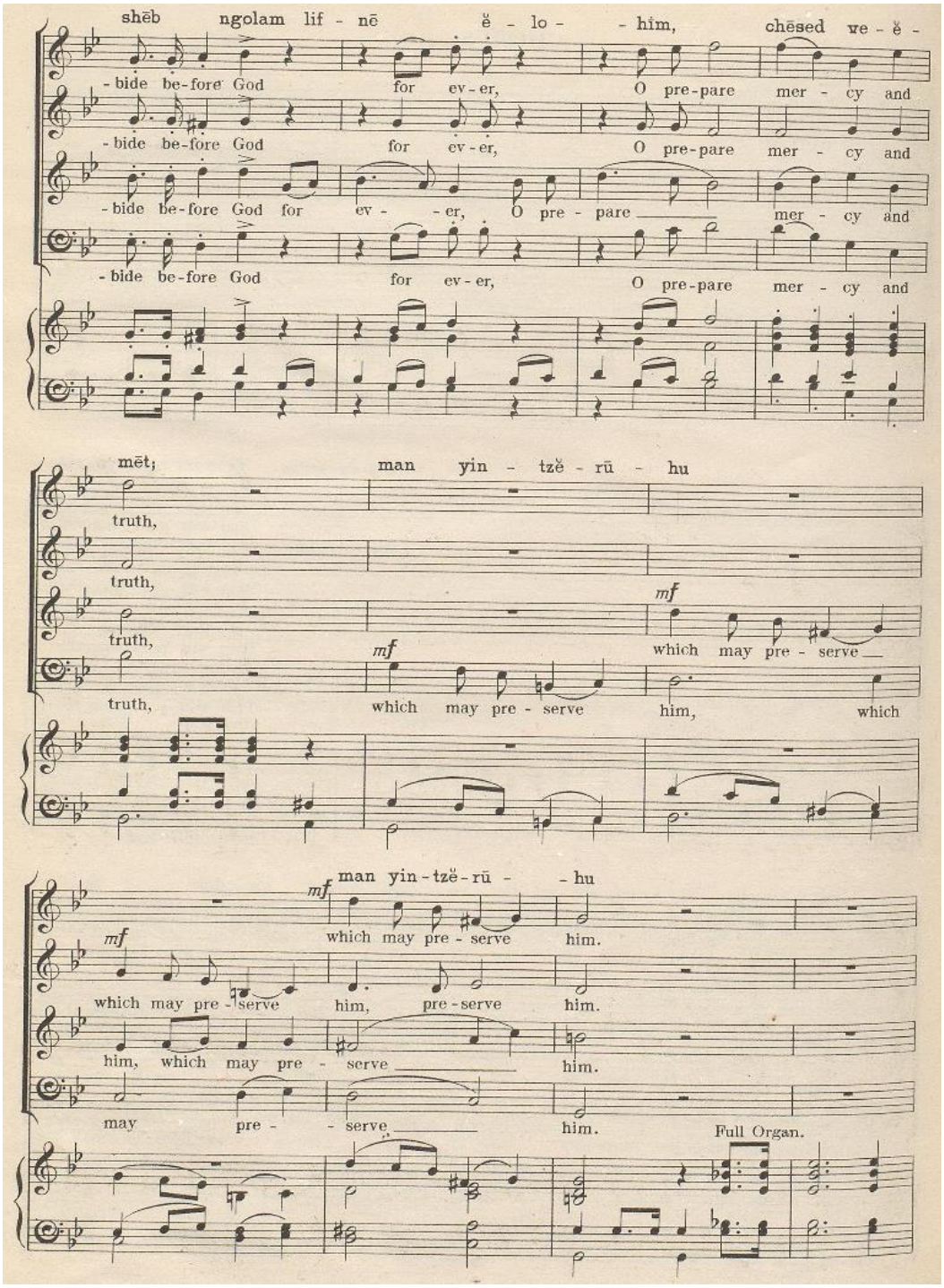
unlikely to be as well-executed as the two crotchet beats (starting on an anacrusis) which open the Hebrew setting (Example 4); the lack of space between the two notes not only makes the first bar appear rushed, but also denies the singer time to prepare for the octave jump by gaining momentum through the first crotchet. A few bars later, the English text again feels compressed as the opening statement – 'Hear my cry O God' – runs almost immediately into the following phrase – 'attend unto my prayer', additionally leaving little breathing room for the singer. By contrast, the crotchet rest between the two statements in the Hebrew setting sets them out as equal but independent halves of the same verse of text, while also giving space to the opening statement which, importantly for the published edition, forms the title of the work.

Neither text setting is without fault – while Verrinder claimed to have learned Hebrew in order to take up his position at the West London Synagogue, his grasp of pronunciation and textual emphasis is perhaps secondary to his melodic writing. However, given that Verrinder's target audience (Jewish and Christian) would have been entirely English speaking, it is fair to assume that responses to eccentricities in the vernacular setting might have been less forgiving. That said, an interesting shift occurs at the start of the choral section of the work. Priority is here very obviously given to the English text; perhaps due to the increased number of voices, the two lines of text setting are now reduced to one, with the English text set according to the vocal lines (appearing under each part), and the Hebrew text sitting above the soprano line. This does not initially seem to be an issue – the first bars remain clearly laid out, given the homophonic texture (although assumptions are required regarding certain syllabic settings of the Hebrew where the English text is prioritised). However, things become problematic once the individual voices start singing in canon and the text repeats to fit the independent vocal lines (Example 5). At this point, any authentic idea as to how the Hebrew text should be set is abandoned, leaving a choir wishing to perform the piece in the original language to work it out for themselves. This shift in prioritisation from Hebrew to English text suggests that Verrinder considered it more likely that this section of the work at least would be performed in English than in Hebrew. I say this section in particular, because it could be speculated that – given the structure of the work in which the organ interlude divides the solo aria and recitative from the chorus, almost providing a 're-start' – Verrinder expected that some performances of his work might omit the solo sections entirely due to a lack of suitable voices, or even in the absence of organ accompaniment (which could readily be removed from the chorus, but less successfully from the solos). This structure thus also made the chorus section

of the piece suitable for performance in Orthodox synagogue settings, where instrumental would not have been heard on the Sabbath or Festivals.



Example 5: C. G. Verrinder, *Hear my cry O God*. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections F.231.c.(38.).



Example 5 (cont.): C. G. Verrinder, *Hear my cry O God*. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections F.231.c.(38.).

Given the likely target audience of Novello's publishing output, who were largely 'amateur musicians and choral society members', it is fair to assume that the inclusion of a Hebrew text in *Hear my cry O God* served little practical purpose.[67] However, Novello had a secondary aim; to contribute to

[67] Victoria Cooper, *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 86. While Cooper's account does not extend to the period in question in this article,

'the musical education of Victorian society'.[68] To that end, an edition of a British sacred work which presented the text in the original, ancient language (transliterated for easier performance by both Jewish and non-Jewish parties), as well as in translation, was well-suited to the publisher's broader remit. Furthermore, this speaks to Verrinder's dedication to Jewish music not just as a performer and composer, but also as a lecturer. As we have also seen with *Israel*, Verrinder was apparently keen to allow his work to be shared and appreciated by the greatest possible audience; as such, a composition which served Jewish, Christian, secular (in the sense that it was written for a state occasion, and could be performed by non-denominational choral societies) and educational purposes illustrated Verrinder's own diverse training and professional interests, as well as his skill in adapting his work to account for all sensibilities.

This is perhaps best demonstrated through a comparison with another setting of Psalm 61, written by Jewish composer Arthur Friedländer. Composed and initially published by Novello prior to April 1887, it too was written with the Jubilee celebrations in mind. A review of the work in the *Jewish Chronicle* stated: '[w]e hope that Mr. Friedländer's psalm will be sung in one of the synagogues at the approaching Jubilee Service'; it was ultimately performed at the Great Synagogue as part of the celebrations described earlier in this chapter (for which Friedländer had responsibility for all the music performed), arranged with orchestral accompaniment by Henri De Solla.[69] Most strikingly, Friedländer's work – published several months before Verrinder's – was advertised under the English titled *Hear, O God, Hear my Cry*, and as a 'Hebrew and English Bible (revised) version'.[70] While reviewed apathetically in the *Musical Times* as 'decidedly common-place', the *Jewish Chronicle* balanced comparable accusations of some 'commonplace and monotonously harmonised' themes with praise for being 'well calculated for the purpose in view, that is to afford ordinary synagogue choirs a psalm not beyond their limital musical capabilities'.[71] Such acknowledgement of the work's principal purpose – and its 'similar tone to the ordinary synagogue music used in London' – provides a clear basis through which to examine Verrinder's own composition, which might even have been inspired on numerous levels by Friedländer's dual language publication.[72]

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she provides ample evidence of the *Musical Times*'s early success in promoting Novello's music to a wide audience through an 'unparalleled intercommunication amongst musical people' (Preface to Volume 4 of the *Musical Times,* May 1852). Given the continued popularity of Novello as publisher of the journal throughout the remainder of the century, however, we can assume that this success continued even once the business had transferred from Alfred Novello to Henry Littleton in 1866.

[68] Cooper, *The House of Novello*, 86.

[69] 'Music', *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 April 1887; 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[70] 'For Jubilee Celebrations', *Musical Times*, 1 May 1887.

[71] 'Reviews', *Musical Times*, 1 May 1887; 'Music', *Jewish Chronicle*. A review of the performance of Friedländer's work in the Jubilee edition of the *Jewish Chronicle* was more effusive in its praise, stating that the composition 'is instinct with devotional feeling, and has withal sufficient melody to lead the senses captive, and thus, in turn, to rouse the emotions of the worshipper.' See 'The Jubilee', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[72] 'Music', *Jewish Chronicle*.

While many synagogues shared a number of common pieces of repertoire for their Jubilee services (the celebratory Psalm 150 featured in many different settings, both pre-existing and newly composed), it would appear that Verrinder and Friedländer were two of only three musicians who chose to incorporate Psalm 61 into their respective services. Little information exists regarding Arthur Meyer Friedländer (1868-1928), although contemporary sources indicate that, like Verrinder, he remained an active member of London's musical scene through composition, musical direction, and music education. The British Library catalogue attributes to him a number of sacred and secular compositions published across the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, predominantly based on Jewish texts or themes. It is worth noting that Friedländer was only nineteen when his setting of Psalm 61 was published, in contrast with Verrinder's fifty-three years of age. This not only accounts for reviews describing his 'inexperience', but also suggests that the young composer's work to this date focussed principally on the music of the Synagogue, almost certainly trained in the choral and cantorial traditions of the Orthodox community. It appears that he had also attended the Royal College of Music, under David M. Davis, collaborator on the 1899 'Blue Book'.[73]

This background goes some way to explaining the structure of his composition, which differs substantially from Verrinder's and thus highlights the distinct purposes for which they were written. While they were both first performed during synagogue celebrations of the Jubilee, Verrinder's regal, anthem-like setting and simple three-part structure makes it equally performable by synagogue or church choir, with or without soloist and organ. By contrast, Friedländer's setting is lengthier, incorporating a repeated 'A' section heard at the opening, middle and close of the work (with the addition of a short solo introduction at the start and a semi-coda at the end). This section is interspersed with other themes of mixed length and tempo, in a combination of choral and solo vocal writing. Some of Friedländer's use of solo writing, like Verrinder's, reflects the more private nature of particular verses of the Psalm, such as verse 5: 'For Thou O God, hast heard my vows: Thou hast given me the heritage of those that fear Thy name'.[74] However, this is less distinct than Verrinder's setting, which clearly demarcates the first five verses from the final three. Furthermore, the interweaving of solo with choral passages in Friedländer's work means that it has to be sung in full, particularly as many sections start or end with a modulation to a related key.

Verrinder's and Friedländer's use of the solo voice in their respective works highlights stylistic as well as structural differences between the two pieces, thus reinforcing Verrinder's flexibility with regards to his target audience. Friedländer's two solo passages themselves are extremely brief, and written stylistically to suit the role of a *chazan* in a synagogue (Example 6). The recitative-like opening statement, *Lamnatsiach a neginas ledovid* ('A psalm of David'), in particular reflects the fact that, in a synagogue context, it was customary for the *chazan* or minister to introduce the Psalm text in chant

[73] 'Music', *Jewish Chronicle*.

[74] Text as used in Verrinder's setting.

form.[75] As both of these roles would have been taken by men, one can assume that Friedländer's expectation was that, even in performance outside of a synagogue context, a male soloist would be used.[76] Furthermore, his writing demonstrates a more dialogic and functional relationship between soloist and choir. As such, his setting does not fully represent a satisfying opportunity for a soloist to demonstrate his vocal ability; instead, it reflects a common musical practice found in contemporary Orthodox synagogues across the country, which were striving for a better balance between *chazanut* and modern choral worship. By contrast, Verrinder's solo writing demonstrates a much more flexible approach to the performance of *Hear my cry O God*, and provides a greater opportunity for displays of vocal skill and lyricism. The work also stated that the solo could be taken by a tenor or soprano – not only opening up his composition to a wider circle of performers and performance spaces (solo female voices were more common in recitals and concerts than during sacred services, with perhaps the exception of the West London Synagogue), but also fulfilling his life-long dedication to supporting (Jewish) female voices.

I have already suggested that Verrinder's setting of Psalm 61 was structured so as to allow for the omission of both soloist and organ, although this would only be possible if the final, choral section were performed in isolation. The melodic and harmonic layout of the accompaniment in Friedländer's work, by contrast, has been arranged so that the entire composition could be performed a capella, thus making it suitable for performance in an Orthodox synagogue service where instrumental music would not be permitted. Aside from a few bars of introduction and conclusion, the organ takes no solo role in the piece and can therefore be omitted entirely – unlike in Verrinder's work where the organ introduces each of the aria, recitative, and choral sections. By removing the instrumental accompaniment, Friedländer's piece would commence with the solo recitative mentioned earlier, in which the soloist (in synagogue terms, the *chazan*) would introduce the psalm text by chanting the words 'A Psalm of David'. To allow for musical development without the assistance of organ accompaniment, harmonic transitions between the different sections of music in Friedländer's setting are arranged so that the choir (or, on occasion, soloist) can easily modulate from one key to another. This realisation, when brought into comparison with Verrinder's own setting, sheds light on the differing approaches of the two composers.

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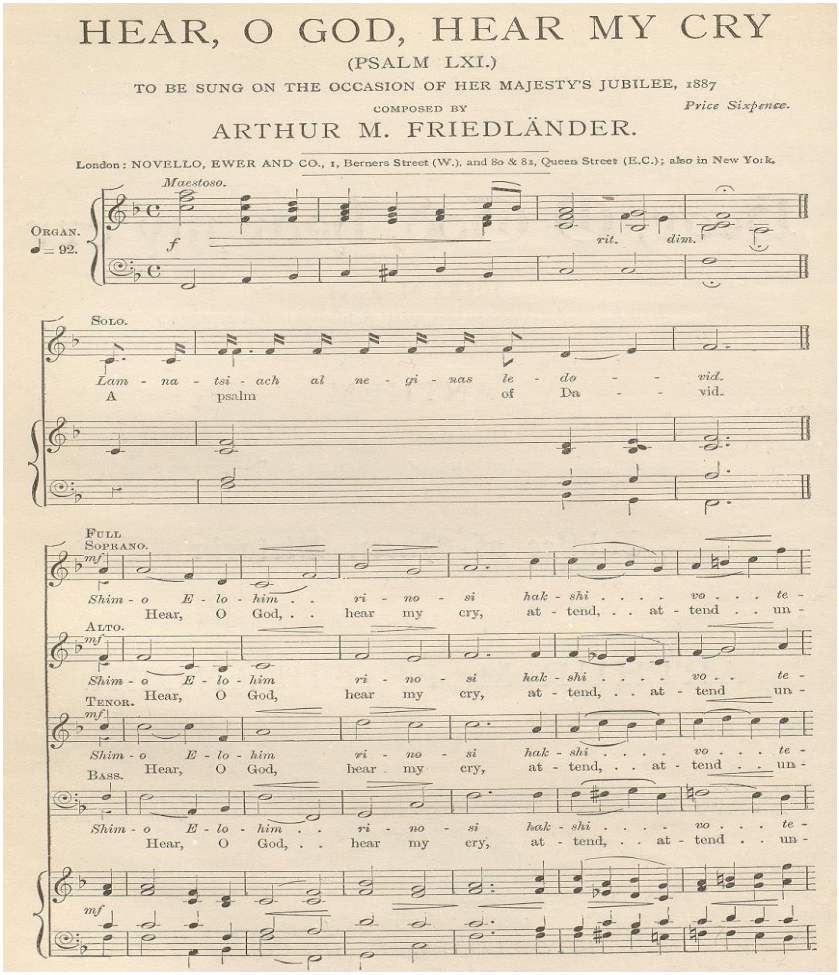
[75] Verrinder's published setting makes reference to this custom with the inclusion of these same words written above the opening line of music (see Example 4). It is significant that Friedländer's Hebrew text is written according to Ashkenazi pronunciation, which uses an 's' instead of a 't' in *neginas*, a single 'a' (pronounced 'uh') instead of 'ngal' ('ng' pronounced like the end of the word 'sing') and an 'o' instead of an 'a' in *ledovid*; this would have been the pronunciation which, while more common across Jewish society in Britain in the 1880s, would also have been associated with immigrant communities from Central and Eastern Europe, and was of the type considered less 'refined'.

[76] At the work's performance for the Jubilee, the solo passages were 'declaimed by Mr. Moscowitz' in an 'admirable manner'. It would appear that Maurice Moscowitz (Moscovitz) was a member of the St John's Wood Synagogue choir and frequently gave solo recitals; see 'Theatrical and Musical Notes', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 March 1896.

Friedländer's focus – as hypothesised earlier based on his age and likely musical upbringing – appeared to be the synagogue; he made concessions in order that his work could be performed elsewhere, yet it was important that the piece remained suitable for (and in keeping with) his own place of worship. Verrinder's agenda, by contrast, seemed to be the reverse – he expanded his synagogue work to accommodate the various requirements of the types of Anglican musical worship with which he was familiar.


HEAR, O GOD, HEAR MY CRY

(PSALM LXI.)

TO BE SUNG ON THE OCCASION OF HER MAJESTY'S JUBILEE, 1887

COMPOSED BY *Price Sixpence.*

ARTHUR M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

London: NOVELLO, EWER AND CO., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 80 & 81, Queen Street (E.C.); also in New York.

Maestoso.

ORGAN. ♩ = 92.

f *rit.* *dim.*

SOLO.

Lam - na - tsi - ach al ne - gi - nas le - do - - vid.
A psalm of Da - - vid.

FULL SOPRANO. *mf*

Shim - o E - lo - him . . ri - no - si hak - shi . . . . vo . . . te -
Hear, O God, . . hear my cry, at - tend, . . at - tend . . un -

ALTO. *mf*

Shim - o E - lo - him ri - no - si hak - shi . . . . vo . . te -
Hear, O God, hear my cry, at - tend, . . at - tend un -

TENOR. *mf*

Shim - o E - lo - him ri - no - si hak - shi . . . . vo . . . te -
Hear, O God, hear my cry, at - tend, . . at - tend . . un -

BASS.

Shim - o E - lo - him . . ri - no - si hak - shi . . . . vo . . . te -
Hear, O God, . . hear my cry, at - tend, . . at - tend . . un -

mf

Example 6: A. M. Friedländer, *Hear, O God, Hear my Cry.* By permission of the British Library, Music Collections E.442.j.(22.)

Whatever the religious implications for *Hear my cry O God*, the work's initial performance and subsequent associations ensured it had a largely state function. Queen Victoria's Jubilee – while incorporating a religious ceremony at Westminster Abbey – was principally a celebration of Britishness, through which the religious and secular worlds were united. As the West London Synagogue was keen to uphold its reputation as a synagogue for 'British Jews' – particularly in light of recent mass immigration – their Jubilee ceremony, complete with new composition in honour of Victoria's fifty years as Queen, was a fitting demonstration of the congregation's loyalty to the British monarchy and

British values. Furthermore, uniting *Hear my cry O God* with an arrangement of the National Anthem by publishing them together sent a clear message about the Synagogue's musical adherence to the British cultural style. Verrinder's two anthems were re-advertised for purchase from Novello on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee ten years later, extending the work's association with British loyalty and state occasions.[77]

Completing the collection of Verrinder's works set to Jewish texts was his arrangement of *Kol Nidre*, published by Novello in 1891. This work concluded the Novello triptych which started with *Israel* – an English-language text based on Old Testament themes and set in an inherently Western choral format; progressed to *Hear my cry O God* – a Hebrew/English text based on Psalm 61 but again with firmly 'British' musical roots; and finally finished with a Hebrew/English setting not just of a Jewish liturgical text, but of an ancient Jewish melody. This arrangement, written for voice and piano, appears also to have had origins in 1887, when Verrinder and the choir of the West London Synagogue participated in Francis Cohen's lecture on Jewish music at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition. At this lecture, Verrinder performed his own solo organ arrangement of the melody. During the event, Cohen gave a favourable review of Verrinder's arrangement, introducing the performance of the traditional tune 'not indeed in the idealised form which Max Bruch has given us, but rather more accurately reproducing the oldest German version of the beautiful ancient melody'.[78] While the manuscript to the organ arrangement was never published, the 1891 Novello edition was undertaken apparently at the request of certain 'Musical Directors of the Principal London Synagogues', including the Great Synagogue in Duke's Place and the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks – Orthodox institutions which were once very much at odds with the musical culture of the West London Synagogue.[79] Verrinder referred to this arrangement as a 'sacred scena', and once again incorporated both the original text (not, as Verrinder stated, in Hebrew, but in Aramaic), and an English translation which could be sung to the same music.[80] He also stated that the work was preceded by an 'Introductory Symphony', although this is not evident in the version held in the British Library (unless he was referring to the relatively long piano introduction prior to the vocal entry).

Unlike *Hear my cry O God*, the *Kol Nidre* melody had a long history, made famous to the wider Victorian public by Max Bruch's renowned work for solo cello and orchestra, as Cohen and Verrinder

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[77] 'Dr. Verrinder's Jubilee Psalm', *Musical Times*, 1 June 1897.

[78] 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music: Rev. Francis L. Cohen', in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London. 1887.* (London: Office of the "Jewish Chronicle", 1888), 126.

[79] C. G. Verrinder, *Kol Nidréi, Ancient Hebrew Melody adapted to Hebrew and English Words, for Soprano or Tenor Solo with Pianoforte Accompaniments and Introductory Symphony* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1891).

[80] Interestingly, the transliteration appears to combine elements of Sephardi and Ashkenazi pronunciation; the 'ng' sound is indicative of the former, while 's' replacing 't' sounds and a focus on 'oh' and 'ow' sounds replacing 'a' and 'oh' respectively adhere to a distinctly Eastern European Ashkenazi dialect. This may have been an attempt to appease the Musical Directors from the Great and Spanish and Portuguese Synagogues, whose own pronunciation would have reflected their denominational differences.

both acknowledged. Often chanted during the evening service which begins the festival of *Yom Kippur* – the Day of Atonement – the melody is intentionally solemn and contemplative. Annette Boeckler refers to the Ashkenazi origins of the melody, which 'is enough to evoke, for many, such intense feelings as probably no other Jewish prayer does', even though '[m]ost Jews do not understand the Aramaic'.[81] Perhaps most strikingly, Boeckler adds that:

> this melody triggers memories: of the year just past, of people who have died, of eras long gone, of Jewish martyrs through the ages [… it] can evoke uncertainty of the future and make the listener shiver [… it] provides the sound of atonement that is the core experience of Yom Kippur and that could not otherwise be put adequately into words.[82]

It is telling that Sephardi communities began to make use of the melody – with or without text – to begin their *Yom Kippur* services.

The significance of the melodic value of the prayer not only speaks to the importance of music in Judaism to convey heritage and deep-rooted emotional connections to the faith, but perhaps also indicates the responsibility bestowed on Verrinder by these other synagogue musical directors – themselves all of Jewish birth – to create an arrangement which conveyed this heritage to the wider British public. By contrast, the *Kol Nidre* text has sparked controversy, with early Reform Jews in nineteenth-century Germany suspicious of its nature as a prayer for 'freedom from vows that might potentially be made in the year to come, not those already made in the year just ending'.[83] Such a statement even affected anti-Semitism, with non-Jewish communities across Europe expressing distrust towards the Jews' ability to uphold vows of loyalty to their nation-state. This in turn resulted in many synagogues removing the text from the *Yom Kippur* liturgy, particularly during the early German Reform synagogue movement.[84] Some congregations continued to use the melody, however, in order to create a reflective mood at the start of the *Yom Kippur* service, but either changed the text or performed the tune without words. As a Reform Synagogue with Sephardi roots, therefore, it is most likely that the West London Synagogue adopted the *Kol Nidre* melody in this latter format. According to Oswald J. Simon's critical review of Verrinder's vocal arrangement, Verrinder's previous organ version was 'played with great effect immediately before the services on the eve and the morning of the Day of Atonement at the Berkeley Street Synagogue', and had become 'quite an institution in connection with the Atonement Services of that synagogue' even though the text and the *Kol Nidre*

[81] Annette M. Boeckler, 'The Magic of the Moment: *Kol Nidre* in Progressive Judaism', in *All These Vows: Kol Nidre*, ed. Lawrence A. Hoffman (Woodstock: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2011), 39.
[82] Boeckler, 'The Magic of the Moment', 39-40.
[83] Boeckler, 'The Magic of the Moment', 40.
[84] Boeckler, 'The Magic of the Moment', 40.

ceremony had been 'expunged'.[85] Again, Simon reinforces the power of the *Kol Nidre* melody over its liturgical meaning: 'what was attractive in that ceremony, namely the music, has been retained. […] Its musical interest consists in playing on the organ what was sung by the Hazan unaccompanied'.[86]

Simon's chief concern regarding Verrinder's new arrangement was the incorporation of an English text, which was 'not required to be placed before the musical public in this unreasonable, and may I add, ungrammatical form'.[87] It is fair to suggest that the English text setting – in contrast with passages in *Hear my cry O God* – is poor; aside from grammatical errors, the translation reinforces the problematic content of the prayer, which feels rather like a business transaction:

> All vows and prohibitions, and oaths and declarations, and obligations, and restrictions, and binding rules which we vowed, and sworn [sic.], and imposed, and interdicted on ourselves from this "Day of Atonement" until the "Day of Atonement" that will come unto us for our well-being.
>
> All of them we regret them, all of them shall be permissible, abandoned, discontinued, useless, and nugatory, no longer allowable and non-existent.
>
> Our vows shall no longer be vows, and our prohibitions no prohibitions, and our frivolous oaths no oaths at all.[88]

Not only do these words feel unmusical, they are shoe-horned into awkward phrases in order to run parallel with the original Aramaic; while it was part of the *chazanut* tradition to incorporate melismatic phrases focused around a single word or syllable – as it had indeed also developed through Gregorian chant into contemporary church choral music, the English text in Verrinder's *Kol Nidrei* feels peculiar, as if the emphasis is on the wrong word (such as the elongated 'on ourselves' in Example 7). There are also instances where words are accented on what should be a weaker syllable, such as 'AT-onement' rather than 'at-ONE-ment'. While Verrinder's Aramaic text setting, as Simon intimates, perhaps too feels at odds with attempts to force the flexibility of *chazanut* into a regular, metred aria, the wider British audience was more likely to find fault with the awkwardness of the English translation.

This begs the question as to why – regardless of the requests from various synagogue musical directors – Verrinder rearranged his organ setting to incorporate text. It might have been in response to Bruch's own instrumental setting, published ten years previously. To have published yet another instrumental arrangement of the *Kol Nidre* melody so soon after Bruch's own might have been

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[85] '"Kol Nidrei", *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 December 1891.

[86] '"Kol Nidrei", *Jewish Chronicle*.

[87] '"Kol Nidrei", *Jewish Chronicle*. Simon is referring particularly to the phrase 'Restrictions and binding rules which we vowed and sworn', which he suggests were clearly 'not translated by Dr. Verrinder, or we should have had other English than [this]'.

[88] Text as used in Verrinder's 1891 edition.

redundant, both musically and financially. Certainly by 1891 Bruch's setting was a favourite among cellists, to the extent that the *Musical Times* referred to the work as 'in danger of becoming thoroughly hackneyed'.[89] Perhaps a refreshing alternative to Bruch, and playing on the recent popularity of the *Kol Nidre* melody, Verrinder's vocal edition served many functions: arranged for tenor or soprano soloist (again affirming his support for female vocalists) and piano rather than organ accompaniment, it was likely that Verrinder intended the work for domestic worship or for public recitals, rather than the synagogue. However, his subtitle, 'A Sacred Scena', was almost certainly a direct reaction to Bruch, who acknowledged that his own treatment of the melody was secular – simply an exploration of a Jewish folk melody for concert performance. By returning the melody to its principal, religious purpose, Verrinder was again fulfilling Novello's requirements by providing a piece of sacred vocal music which would simultaneously entertain and educate the Victorian British public. Furthermore, given that most synagogues would have had their own interpretation of the *Kol Nidre* incorporated into their *Yom Kippur* services – whether sung by a *chazan*, played on the organ, or chanted in another form, it seems most likely that Verrinder's vocal and piano arrangement was intended to serve the non-Jewish community over the Jewish one. It is unclear how well-received it was; the only mention of the piece in the *Musical Times* is the advertisement of the work's publication.[90] However, a simple vocal arrangement of a now-famous melody, which also demonstrated a greater link with its Jewish roots through the inclusion of the original text, may have sparked interest.

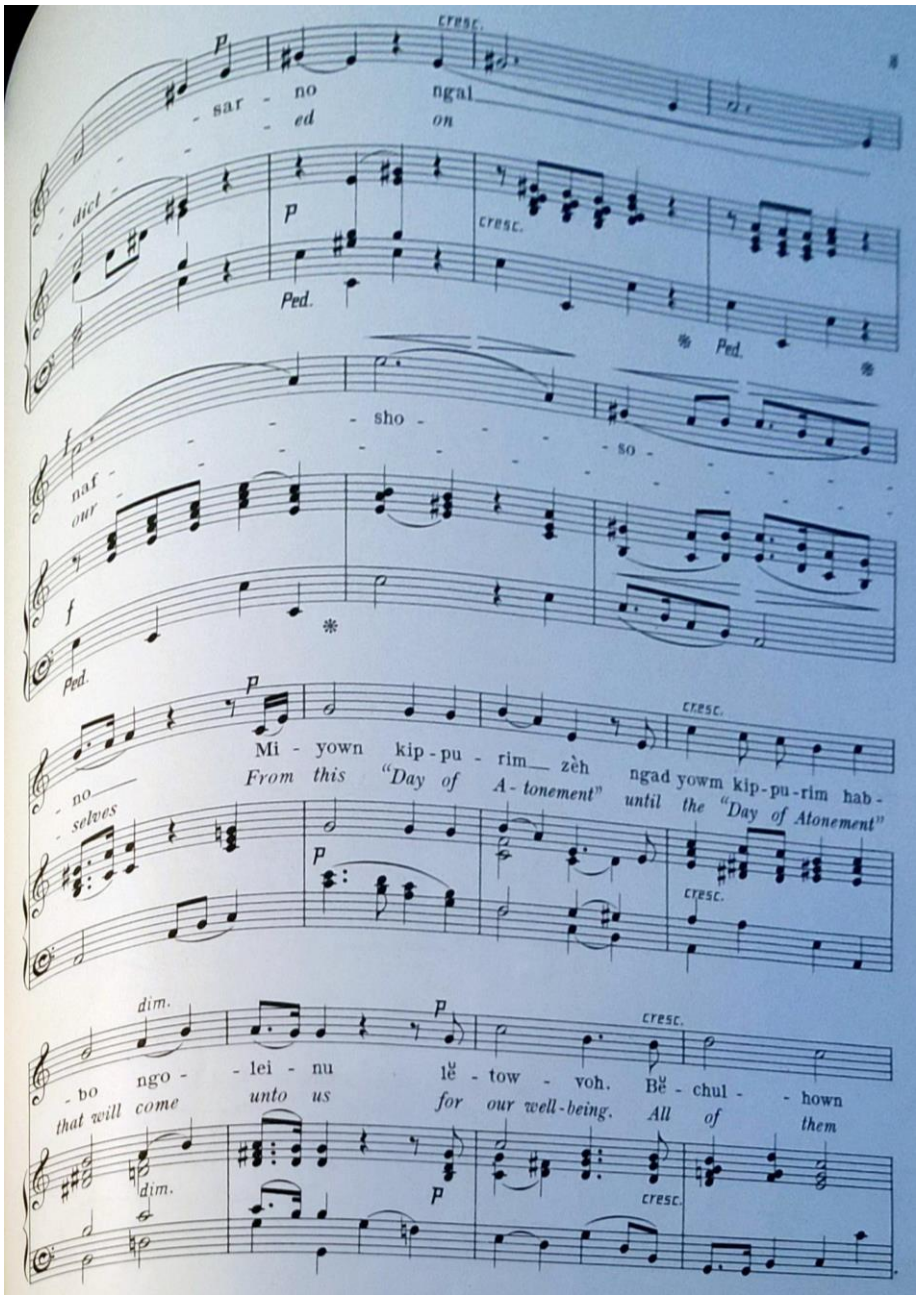
Verrinder himself responded to Simon's criticisms the week following their publication, in a letter titled 'Dr. Verrinder's "Kol Nidrei"'. In his reply, Verrinder stated that he was responsible for neither the original text nor the translation, which were supplied by a friend. He then defended his actions in what I believe sums up his lifetime's contribution to the widescale promotion of Jewish music to the wider British public:

> The advantage of having this beautiful melody in song form is manifest, the amateur can perform it as a vocal or instrumental solo, the pianoforte accompaniment is so easily arranged as to render it generally acceptable. […] The form I have chosen to adopt will have this all round recommendation, it will please the majority, and what was formerly in the hands of a few learned men is now within the reach of everybody, by being published in the popular mode.[91]

This statement, written over thirty years after Verrinder was first appointed as the organist of the West London Synagogue, is perhaps the only first-hand source through which Verrinder's commitment to

[89] 'Royal College of Music', *Musical Times*, 1 April 1891.
[90] 'During the last month', *Musical Times*, 1 December 1891.
[91] 'Dr. Verrinder's "Kol Nidrei"', *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 December 1891.

'de-othering' Jewish practices through music – not just to non-Jews, but to all those for whom the Hebrew language and Jewish customs felt unfamiliar – was revealed. As demonstrated across the three publications discussed, his goal of opening the Jewish (musical) world to the largest possible audience and performing circles remained a constant, regardless of the type of work or its origins. As such, it appears that Verrinder was driven by his own experience as an outsider in the Jewish community, giving himself the responsibility to unite Jewish and Christian musical practices in a way that educated and familiarised the British public with their shared heritage.



Example 7: C. G. Verrinder, *Kol Nidréi*. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections G.517.f.(30.).

Musical Society: The Hebrew Choral Association(s) and Anglo-Jewish Exhibition

I will conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of two other events to which Verrinder made a striking contribution. Both have been mentioned in passing and deserve more attention here, not only for Verrinder's role but also because they provide a glimpse into other aspects of Jewish social and cultural integration with wider British values. Focussed around the 1880s and early 1890s, they also reaffirm the Anglo-Jewish community's desire for assimilation within the context of mass immigration from Eastern Europe. To that end, they were both inspired by similar events which were a part of mainstream British cultural practice.

In February 1881, the *Jewish Chronicle* notified its readers that 'a new Jewish Choral Society is being formed under the direction of Rev. M. Hast'.[92] By the end of May it had given its first 'public rehearsal' at Jews' College, Bloomsbury, to a 'large and appreciative' audience.[93] The repertoire performed that evening included a variety of solo and chamber pieces by Jewish and non-Jewish composers, including works by Mendelssohn, Schubert and Handel, as well as Marcus Hast's own 'anthem' setting of 'Adon Aulom' performed by the choir.[94] The chairman, a Mr Antoine, expressed his desire that the society would be well supported by 'so musical a community as the Jewish'. Later notices indicate that Francis Cohen became the society's Honorary Secretary, and rehearsals took place at the 'Gates of Hope Schools', Jewish schools associated with the Synagogue at Bevis Marks.[95] The choir held many charity concerts and was often praised for its generous proceeds which they donated to, for example, the relief fund for persecuted Jews in Russia.[96] The choir, seemingly referred to throughout this period as the 'Amateur Choral Society', continued to give concerts and recitals until December 1885, whereupon no further notices appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* until 1888, when debates arose concerning the foundation of a second choral society and its potential to clash with a revived Amateur Choral Society.[97] By 1889, references to a 'Hebrew Choral Association', directed by David M. Davis (of the 'Blue Book'), appeared alongside announcements about performances by the 'Amateur Choral Society', still under the direction of Marcus Hast.[98] It is not clear whether these were two societies or one until 1892, when Charles Mocatta confirmed to a correspondent that the Hebrew

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[92] *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 February 1881.

[93] 'Amateur Choral Society', *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 June 1881.

[94] Marcus Hast (1840-1911) was born in Warsaw, and on moving to London became the *chazan* at the Great Synagogue where he worked alongside composer Julius Mombach. He was father-in-law to Francis Cohen. See Joseph Jacobs and Francis L. Cohen, 'Marcus Hast', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 17 April 2020) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7324-hast-marcus.

[95] 'Amateur Choral Society', *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 May 1882.

[96] 'Persecution of the Jews in Russia – Mansion House Relief Fund', *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 July 1882.

[97] 'A Jewish Choral Society', *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 November 1888 and 7 December 1888.

[98] 'Hebrew Choral Association', *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 May 1889. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* entry for David M. Davis claims that Davis was the founder of the society, but I have not found evidence of this.

Choral Association (of which he was President) was founded in 1888.[99] Both societies presented concerts under the patronage of the Rothschild family.[100] References to a choral society for the 'Jewish Working Men's Club and Institute' also continued throughout this period, as well as 'Bayswater Amateur Choral Society' established by Arthur Friedländer in 1892, although it is unclear whether this was a Jewish society.[101]

The existence of all these various choral societies (along with others such as in Liverpool) clearly confused some *Jewish Chronicle* readers. However, it demonstrates that the Jewish community sought a type of musical activity prevalent among their non-Jewish British peers. While one choral society in Spitalfields – it is unclear which one – was apparently established 'with the view of improving synagogue singing', its repertoire remained the performance of 'oratorios, cantatas, &c'.[102] It is telling, therefore, that the only known performance of Verrinder's cantata *Israel* – a work written to be suitable for a wide spectrum of performers – was undertaken by the Hebrew Choral Association on 4 March 1891, conducted by the composer. Performed with piano accompaniment, the 'choruses were excellently rendered, and showed a marked advance on previous work of this body'.[103] While the quality of the concert was not necessarily wholly Verrinder's work, he remained with the Hebrew Choral Association for their concert in June, where he was praised for his 'learning, skill and experience […] his ability as a composer and practical musician greatly tended towards the success of the concert'.[104] Such apparently was his work with the Association that the *Musical News* mentioned it in his obituary.[105]

Some preliminary investigation into the careers of the soloists during this performance – particularly the soprano, Daisy Defries – has indicated another phenomenon regarding Jewish musical society: namely, that Jewish performers and composers of the period – whether renowned, unknown, British or from overseas – largely stuck together when organising and participating in public performances. Miss Defries, who appears to have been a relatively new introduction to the musical scene when she first performed Verrinder's cantata, is mentioned in both the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Musical Times* concerning recitals which also principally involved fellow Jewish performers.[106] A

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[99] 'A Choral Society in the East End', *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 September 1892.

[100] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1889 and 4 July 1890.

[101] *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 January 1889 and 26 August 1892.

[102] 'A Jewish Choral Society', *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 November 1888.

[103] 'Concerts for the Poor', *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 March 1891.

[104] 'Concert Notes', *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 June 1891.

[105] Printed in 'In Memoriam', *Organist and Choirmaster*, July 1904.

[106] Names which recur include Harold Bauer, Frank Lindo and Adèle Myers; a number of such individuals overlapped on numerous occasions with Verrinder, including (in Myers' case) several years in the West London Synagogue choir. 'Pianoforte Recitals', *Musical Times*, 1 July 1890; 'Miscellaneous Concerts', *Musical Times*, 1 January 1892 and 1 August 1893; 'Concert Notes' *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 December 1891. Interestingly, this occasion (a concert at the Hampstead Conservatoire) featured an instrumental performance by Carl Engel. Forthcoming research will incorporate further investigation of Jewish musical societies.

significant portion of Verrinder's concert and recital work supported the careers of Jewish singers, composers, and instrumentalists, male and female. Furthermore, as early as 1862 – just a little over two years after he had started at the West London Synagogue – he was writing repertoire which would guarantee performance among Jewish musical circles, whose programming of works by Rubinstein, Cowen and other, lesser-known Jewish composers was as commonplace as the performance of works by the Western masters.

I mentioned earlier in this chapter that Verrinder's setting of the *Kol Nidre* melody was performed as part of a lecture given by Francis Cohen on the 'Rise and Development of Synagogue Music'. This lecture was an important feature of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition which was held throughout April, May, and June 1887 at the Royal Albert Hall – deliberately coinciding with the Golden Jubilee.[107] Aimed 'to present the history of the Jews of England to the public at large', the attendees of the Exhibition comprised both Jews and non-Jews. It is clear from the review of Cohen's lecture in the *Musical World*, however, that many of the audience were familiar with Verrinder's performed examples, and 'seemed delighted to hear their well-known chants and hymns, and could not resist joining in at times'.[108] That said, the novelty will have been, for many, hearing these pieces outside of a synagogue context, in an environment where they were more likely to attend a concert of more mainstream musical repertoire. Furthermore, the review itself indicated the presence of those outside the Jewish faith.

Cohen's lecture focused on the history of Jewish music, moving through five different periods from the Bible to the present day. Verrinder's illustrations, which he performed at the organ with the West London Synagogue choir, ran throughout the lecture, and included performances of the ancient Sephardi melodies *Tob Lehodot* and *Az Yashir Moshe* – of his arrangements in *The Music used…*, these two were apparently the most performed in lectures due to their historic lineage. His own compositions were not used in this instance, although the lecture closed with a performance of Charles Salaman's setting of Psalm 84, presumably in Verrinder's arrangement, which Cohen states had 'found a place in the cathedral as well as in the synagogal service'.[109] The inclusion of Salaman's work, which had been published in English in 1873 (as mentioned above), can be assumed to be a deliberate demonstration of the links between recent church and synagogue repertoire, in reverence to the non-Jewish members of

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[107] A description of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, including its catalogued items, organisation and individuals involved, can be found in a chapter on the Exhibition in Natalia Berger, *The Jewish Museum: History and Memory, Identity and Art from Vienna to the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2018), 66-91. Notes on the event's relationship with the foundation of other Anglo-Jewish societies and historical researchers, as a retaliation to negative press built around mass European immigration, can be found in David Cesarani's chapter, 'Dual Heritage, or a Duel of Heritages?', in *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness & Jewishness*, ed. Tony Kushner (London: Frank Cass & Co, Ltd., 1992), as well as a brief discussion in the Introduction to this thesis.

[108] 'Lecture on the Music of the Synagogue', *Musical World*, 28 May 1887.

[109] Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', 135.

the audience. Other musical examples – some in English translation – were provided by Cohen and his father-in-law, Marcus Hast. The written account of the lecture does not always make clear which examples were performed, and in what format – for instance, the excerpt from *Tob Lehodot* is printed with the melody only, and with an English text. This was presumably for the reason that Cohen wrote it down following the lecture itself, for the benefit of those with little Hebrew knowledge and within the context of identifying 'ancient melodies'. Indeed, Cohen stated in the lecture that the melody would have been sung 'of course without the modern harmony, and with a very different accompaniment', indicating that Verrinder's arrangement was used in performance.[110]

Cohen demonstrated an obvious bias towards more Orthodox, Ashkenazi practices with which he was himself more familiar (and in which, musically, he was invested, particularly with the upcoming *Handbook of Synagogue Music* already in the planning). His praising of ancient Ashkenazi melodies for being least interfered with, demonstrating 'no trace of foreign influence' showed this denomination to have the most 'authentic' musical origins traceable to a pre-diasporic period. At the same time, it seems as though Verrinder and Cohen's professional relationship – in this period at least – remained amicable, with Cohen praising Verrinder alongside other British and European composers of Jewish music (including such eminent musicians as Sulzer, Lewandowski and Naumbourg as well as more local names like Salaman, Aguilar, Mombach and Hast) for his 'excellent work' in recent years, contributing to 'improved musical service[s]'.[111] Interestingly, Cohen did not seem to see the irony in noting the progress made in recent decades, which incorporated 'fresh arrangements and compositions' but which 'remains Jewish because of the national style which underlies all the modern working', while equally dismissing earlier – predominantly Oriental and Sephardi – Jewish music due to its likely influences coming from external sources. Nonetheless, the inclusion of Verrinder's name – even if only due to his presence at the lecture – would have been a reassurance to the organist and composer that, while an outsider to the Jewish faith, his musical contributions remained 'authentic' and intrinsically part of the Jewish heritage as well as its 'rapid progress'.

Cohen was also surprisingly accepting of the use of the organ in Jewish worship, as well as female voices – aspects which, in Britain, were almost entirely unique to Verrinder's work at the West London Synagogue. He claimed that '[t]here is now no synagogue of importance that has not a choir, which is at least supposed to be instructed on musical principles, and where an instrument is not used on special occasions, such as weddings or dedications. The question of the employment of female voices in the choir, and of the organ in the regular service, has come to be regarded as purely one of ritual'.[112] In fact, several of Cohen's lectures on the music of the synagogue were illustrated by examples performed by his wife, including a presentation to the Musical Association in 1893 where, interestingly

[110] Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', 87-88.
[111] Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', 134-135.
[112] Cohen, 'The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music', 133.

in the light of Bennett Zon's research, the society's President John Stainer appeared to be an interested and supportive Chairman.[113]

Cohen's praise of more recent synagogue music referred to both British and European custom, and included musicians from across denominations and the Orthodox/Reform divide. As such, he demonstrated a unity across communities within the Jewish world which shared a desire for the improvement of musical quality in Jewish worship; in this context, Verrinder's Anglican background was less of a social divider than the impoverished background of immigrant communities whose practices were deemed not only alien to Britain, but to Anglo-Jewish custom. Through his final statements, Cohen assisted the Exhibition's aims to demonstrate Anglo-Jewish adherence to British cultural values, while also remaining loyal to Jewish heritage. It would seem that, albeit twenty years after the 1867 article in the *Musical Standard* to which Verrinder strongly objected, a fascination with historic lineage and authenticity remained; by examining contemporary interpretations of ancient melodies, Cohen (largely through Verrinder's performances) indicated that nineteenth-century Jews could modernise and assimilate without jeopardising their lineage.

One cannot avoid comparisons between the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition and the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1851. Jewish contributions to the latter began early, with members of the Goldsmid and Rothschild families providing vocal and financial support for its organisation and execution.[114] Despite more public fears that the Great Exhibition inspired a mass pilgrimage to Crystal Palace of 'foreigners' (including 'Jews'), Jewish exhibits and artefacts were presented and concessions were (ultimately) made in order that Jews might attend the Exhibition on a Saturday.[115] It was hoped that the event would draw communities together and be a 'harbinger of peace and goodwill to all men' – a message of some import to a 'small and often despised religious minority' who, during this period, were in the midst of the ongoing campaign for political emancipation.[116] Furthermore, according to the *Jewish Chronicle*'s editor at the time, Marcus Bresslau, the number of Jewish exhibits on show did much to negate the accepted dearth of Anglo-Jewish intellectual and cultural contributions to Britain.[117]

The perceived success of the Great Exhibition in raising the Anglo-Jewish profile, particularly with regards to the Jewish middle classes, 'which were to become a solid and respectable section of

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[113] Zon, 'Anti-Semitism and Hebrew Music', 14; Francis L. Cohen, 'Ancient Musical Traditions of the Synagogue', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1892-1893): 135-158. By this date, Stainer had published his *Music of the Bible*, which indicated his knowledge of the subject (albeit with a bias towards Hebrew music as a crude ancestor to Christian chant and hymnody).

[114] Geoffrey Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 158.

[115] Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition*, 159-160. Cantor describes the difficulty which arose concerning the need to provide a signature upon arrival, which went against rules of keeping the Sabbath; the ongoing debate – which also sparked controversy within the Jewish community – was ultimately resolved by the interference of Sir Moses Montefiore, but demonstrated the continued complications for Jews whose time for social and extra-curricular activities often fell on the Sabbath.

[116] Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition*, 160.

[117] Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition*, 161.

Victorian society', no doubt influenced the drive for a specifically Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition some decades later, when the community once again felt under social threat.[118] The large scale of the 1887 Exhibition, and its diverse contributions, were evidence that the Anglo-Jewish community was a significant and valued part of British society. While the focus was on Jewish heritage rather than – as in the Great Exhibition – contemporary progress, the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition's success stemmed from its dual goal: first, to display artefacts from across the Jewish world; second, to include objects and documents which emphasised the contented state of British Jews within contemporary Victorian England, recently free from persecution and able to live equally among their peers.

Cohen's musical lecture also contributed another aspect of Anglo-Jewish life which had not come across so well in the Great Exhibition – the dedication of Jews to the 'fine arts'.[119] In fact, a not insignificant 'Synagogue Music' display included a number of recent musical publications, including Sulzer's *Schir Zion* and Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah U'Tefillah*, as well as those published closer to home – by Aguilar and De Sola (*The Ancient Melodies*), Salaman (solo songs), Verrinder (*The Music used…*), Friedländer (his recent setting of Psalm 61) and Nathan (*Hebrew Melodies*).[120] In addition to the musical personalities mentioned by Cohen, it is likely that Verrinder's West London Synagogue choir comprised a number of singers whose professional careers made them a feature of London's musical society (or were shortly to do so).[121] Furthermore, Cohen's focus on recent progress in synagogue musical worship, while not necessarily considered a 'fine art', nonetheless demonstrated a cohesion between Jewish and Anglican musical practices which in turn reflected the musical tastes of Victorian society. As such, Cohen's lecture was important to the ongoing drive to promote Jewish repertoire not as an 'Other' type of music, but 'another' type of music. Verrinder's place in London's musical scene, which included other Jewish personalities such as Cohen, Salaman, Aguilar and

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[118] Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition*, 165. Cantor explains how Anglo-Jewish contributions to 'the mechanical arts and manufactures' exhibits in particular helped to demonstrate the hard work and dedication of the Anglo-Jewish middle classes to British industrial life.

[119] Cantor, *Religion and the Great Exhibition*, 165.

[120] Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London, 1887* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 97-99. The 'Synagogue Music' section was printed within a chapter titled 'Jewish Ecclesiastical Art', which also incorporated numerous displays of *Torah* scrolls, embroidered and silver *Torah* covers, *mezuzot* (small casings containing the *Shema* text), liturgical writings, Sabbath and Festival 'Requisites' – including cups, lamps and coverings – and other personal religious objects such as wedding rings and prayer shawl bags. Alongside musical scores, the music catalogue also contains listings for several *shopharot* – rams' horns used for the call to prayer during the High Holydays. A number of errors in spelling in the catalogue (such as 'Verinder') have raised suspicion regarding its contents – for instance, the inclusion of 'four volumes' of music compiled by Salaman and Verrinder; it is unclear what the fourth volume might have been, given the date, particularly as it is claimed that all four were 'composed and adapted' by Salaman, and edited by Verrinder. However, it is nonetheless useful to see what was regarded as an important indication of Anglo-Jewish musical activity. Most of the exhibits were donated by Jewish individuals or synagogues, with many of the musical artefacts contributed by Francis Cohen and David M. Davis.

[121] I have not yet had access to the Synagogue's archive sources which list the choristers during this period.

Friedländer, consolidated his role as one of many Victorian musicians striving for musical as well as social equality for British Jews. As such, his contribution to Anglo-Jewry's largest display of national and religious heritage revealed his value to Jewish music, and his acceptance in the Jewish world.

Cohen's attitudes towards Jewish musical progress were reinforced in his 1893 lecture to the Musical Association, in which he stated that improvements in the attitude towards Jews had affected synagogue worship, heightening musical quality (although sometimes at the expense of replacing cantorial chant with spoken liturgy):

> [I]n the last two centuries all this [use of 'Oriental music'] has happily been changed; and to such an extent has the old isolatory spirit disappeared from both without and within, that the congregations are not few, indeed, in which but a small proportion of the traditional music is ever heard; and some have even made the error, as I think they must acknowledge it to be, of abolishing the old Jewish florid intonation and reciting the whole of the service either with the speaking voice or in monotone. But, in compensation, just these congregations are remarkable for the elaborateness and high excellence of their choral arrangements. Where the old musical traditions are perpetuated, the improved tonal education of the general community has not been without its effect, and compositions on the lines of the chants, hymns, and anthems of the Protestant churches are with ever-growing frequency introduced. Thus, while treasuring their own ancient inheritance of song, modern Jews fall into line with their Gentile fellow-citizens, and even in that solitary direction – their religious practice – in which they agree to differ, in music, as in other arts, they work only for the common advantage of the great brotherhood of civilised humanity.[122]

While perhaps hinting here at a dismissal of aspects of the West London Synagogue's religious culture of spoken liturgy, Cohen's praise of choral arrangements such as Verrinder's indicated the Jewish community's acceptance of the musical 'double man' within its hallowed cultural history. Furthermore, his deliberate uniting of Jewish with contemporary Christian musical practice – while not initially the West London Synagogue's stated goal – was in line with Verrinder's own assertions that musical progress need not be denominational. Despite Verrinder's accusations in later years that musicians such as Cohen knowingly borrowed material from the West London Synagogue without acknowledgement, their cooperation during the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition, and Cohen's words to the Musical Association, prove that Victorian Britain's most significant Jewish musicians were all singing from Verrinder's hymn sheet.

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[122] Cohen, 'Ancient Musical Traditions of the Synagogue', 155.

CONCLUSION

The Anglo-Jewish Legacy

This dissertation has sought to demonstrate the complexities of discussing Anglo-Jewish music within both its national and religious contexts. The narrowness of the term 'Anglo-Jewish' itself – while perhaps deliberately chosen to be so by its originators to specify a very certain type of individual and set of practices – does not do justice to the melting pot of heritages, cultures, societies, and histories ultimately identifiable in the music of nineteenth-century Jewish Britain. As seen in Chapters Two and Three, the notated music which culminated in the publication of the 'Blue Book' incorporated material of Sephardi (by which was meant at least Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch) and Ashkenazi (principally Austrian and German) origin, mediated through a nineteenth century 'British' harmonic and instrumental style which, in essence, was most closely equated to the newly developed Anglican practices of the cathedral and parish church. These Anglican practices themselves were shaped by new interpretations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Catholic and High Church musical traditions, courtesy of the Tractarian movement, alongside a reinvigoration and wide dispersal of the church hymn, first introduced late in the previous century to the Methodist Church.

The Anglo-Jewish sound as depicted across this dissertation was, therefore, multinational, multidenominational and, through developments in British musical performance practice, multifaceted. Given the continued rarity of the organ in British synagogue worship to this day, it is still relatively easy to comprehend the impact of such a sound upon a largely unaccompanied musical tradition, and the difference in atmosphere between those synagogues which performed, for instance, Verrinder's music *a capella* (as introduced through the 'Blue Book') compared with the full instrumental and choral experienced heard at the West London Synagogue. Furthermore, the ability to bring this repertoire into the home, to be performed as a chamber ensemble with piano accompaniment and a combination of voices, changed not just the sound of the music but also its intention. Through works such as Verrinder's *Kol Nidre*, as well as those volumes designed both for synagogue and home worship (notably *The Ancient Melodies* and the 'Blue Book') Jewish melodies as domestic performance pieces became another form of musical entertainment, at least within Jewish households if not further afield.

Perhaps less easy for the modern ear to understand is the scale of difference between the early, modest instrument Verrinder performed on at Margaret Street and the ambitious organ at Upper Berkeley Street, given our exposure to the instrument as it has developed particularly across the last two centuries. Just as the later (and current) Synagogue was built to make an architectural statement, so too did the organ – designed to be comparable with instruments found in British cathedrals rather than the average parish church. As such, Verrinder's role as organist developed in both scope and profile; an

indication of his growing position within the Anglo-Jewish sound world. While – as numerous opinion pieces in the *Jewish Chronicle* continued to suggest – neither Verrinder nor his musical environment was entirely accepted by the Anglo-Jewish community, he remains one of the more influential figures within the field of Jewish music in Britain. To that end, in this conclusion I will draw Verrinder's as yet largely untold story to a close, and bring together some final considerations regarding his contribution to the Anglo-Jewish musical legacy.

'In harness': Verrinder's personal and professional sacrifices

Verrinder continued to work for the West London Synagogue until the final days of his life. Following his death on 27 June 1904 numerous obituaries were published across the Jewish, musical and national press, praising his dedication to all aspects of his varied work.[1] Echoing several newspaper pieces from across his career (and a claim made by Verrinder himself), the *Musical Herald* stated that he had 'never missed a service' at the West London Synagogue.[2] It also suggested that it was the 'three consecutive days' duty' – Friday and Saturday services at the Synagogue followed by two Sunday services at Ealing Congregational Church (at which he was employed from 1900) – which 'proved fatal' and caused him to pass away from heart failure the next morning.

These obituaries and other correspondence following Verrinder's death have been essential to filling in biographical gaps in my research, and have also assisted my piecing together of how Verrinder's work at the Synagogue was received in both the Jewish and wider musical worlds. The various wordings and expressions in the accounts provide interesting interpretations of Verrinder's contributions, as well as of the continued perception of Jews and Jewish music at the turn of the twentieth century. On reporting that the *Jewish Chronicle* celebrated Verrinder's 'unrivalled' execution of 'great voluntaries like the National Anthem, Mendelssohn's Wedding March and the funeral marches', *Musical Opinion* commented that '[t]he Jews have evidently a novel conception of a "great voluntary"'.[3] Unfortunately, the same newspaper incorrectly (and perhaps incongruously) identified that 'Sir John Stainer', rather than Sir John Simon, assisted Verrinder in collecting and notating ancient

[1] Obituaries were printed in the *Times* (copied from the *Jewish Chronicle*), *Musical Herald*, *Musical Times*, *Musical Standard*, *Organist and Choirmaster* and *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*.

[2] 'Death of Mr. Verrinder', *Musical Herald*, 1 August 1904. Verrinder himself stated in a letter from 1870 that 'although I have been connected with the Synagogue for nearly twelve years I have never missed a single service' (MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, December 1870). An earlier letter from Verrinder to the West London Synagogue wardens noted his intended absence 'tomorrow', Saturday 9 August 1862 (MS 140 AJ 175 131/15), implying that this claim does not appear to be without its faults. However, he did say that if 'any inconvenience be felt […] I shall be quite willing to return to my duties on this day', suggesting that this absence ultimately may not have occurred; the letter certainly indicates his dubiousness about the alternative arrangements being made.

[3] *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, August 1904.

Hebrew melodies, perhaps indicating its focus on 'opinion' over fact.[4] By contrast, the *Nonconformist Musical Record*, describing Verrinder's most recent work in Ealing, stated that his 'choice of voluntaries was most varied, and from the finest composers [and they] became a beautiful feature of the services'.[5] The *Organist and Choirmaster* listed his English-titled compositions as 'successful church works', including amongst them *Israel* and *Hear my cry O God*; given my discussions of these two compositions in Chapter Four, it is interesting to note their apparent acknowledgement as pieces of Christian as well as Jewish repertoire.

The West London Synagogue congregation was deeply saddened by Verrinder's sudden death. A letter from Frederick Mocatta stated that Verrinder had been a 'good friend' for whom he 'had very great regard'; a second letter by Mocatta written the same day sent his apologies ahead of a meeting at the Synagogue to be held the following day, due to the fact that he was 'extremely distressed' by the news.[6] A letter of condolence sent to Verrinder's widow, Ellen (his second wife) also described the 'deep sympathy' felt by 'all the Members of the Council' on her loss, stating that:

> [i]t was with much emotion that the Members of the Council spoke of the great interest which your husband had uniformly taken in all that concerned the Musical Services of the Synagogue, of the sympathetic & religious tone of the compositions to which he himself had set many of our beautiful Psalms, and of his personal influence over the Choir which he so able directed.[7]

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[4] Given that Stainer had done considerable work in documenting the music of the Bible, perhaps the *Musical Opinion*'s assumption was understandable – particularly as John Simon was better known for his work in the law than as a musician.

[5] 'Obituary', *Nonconformist Musical Journal*, August 1904.

[6] MS 140 AJ 59 40/3, June 1904. The correspondence is signed 'M D Mocatta'; Susan Wollenberg identifies this as Frederick Mocatta (in whose collection at University College, London Verrinder's music volumes are held), presumably based on the address on the letter, which matches Frederick Mocatta's address (9 Connaught Place, Paddington) on the 1891 Census; see Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder and Music at the West London Synagogue, 1859-1904', in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 74-75. Given Mocatta's philanthropy throughout his life and his membership of some of the leading Anglo-Jewish societies and charities (he was Vice-President of the Anglo-Jewish Association and, from 1900, President of the Jewish Historical Society of England), it is likely that Verrinder's work towards the improvement and anglicisation of Jewish music appealed to him. Mocatta was also Chairman of the Synagogue between 1896 and 1904, and died a little over six months after Verrinder, in January 1905. See Joseph Jacobs, Isidore Harris and Goodman Lipkind, 'Mocatta', *Jewish Encyclopedia* (accessed 25 June 2020), and 'Officers of the Synagogue 1896 to mid-1950s', West London Synagogue of British Jews, *Jewish Communities and Records* (accessed 7 July 2020) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10901-mocatta; https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/london/wls/WLS_Officers.htm.

[7] MS 140 AJ 59 40/3, July 1904.

The mention of Ellen Verrinder here introduces a number of details which go some way to confirming Verrinder's place in the West London Synagogue, musical and Victorian social scene. Following the death of Verrinder's first wife, Sarah, in 1893, he had married Ellen (née Wheaton) in April 1896.[8] Significantly younger than her husband, at the age of 23, the Verrinders' remarriage may have been one of convenience to both parties, their respective 'conditions' noted on the wedding certificate being 'widower' and 'spinster'.[9] It is also unclear how they met, given that Ellen's family home prior to her marriage was in Devon. However, Mrs Verrinder appeared to support her husband's professional interests, and possessed her own musical abilities. A number of Verrinder's obituaries acknowledged her contribution to the musical services at Ealing Congregational Church, where she assisted her husband by singing and occasionally 'deputis[ing] at the organ'.[10]

Verrinder had apparently intended to give up 'Sunday work' on their move to Ealing in 1900, a significant geographical (and possibly social) upheaval away from his city lifestyle, presumably in order to be close to his daughter, Alice, and her husband in his later life.[11] While he promptly began undertaking work as the 'Borough organist' and oversaw the building of the new organ in the town hall, it could be assumed that Ellen's assistance was what allowed Verrinder to take up the regular position at the Congregational Church, a Non-Conformist institution which already had a musical reputation.[12] The minister of the Ealing congregation, Reverend William Garrett Horder, was well-known for his writings on sacred music traditions – which demonstrated more sympathetic tendencies than most towards the Hebrew precedent for Christian musical practices – and for his published hymn settings; his c.1895 collection, *Worship Song*, was in use at Ealing.[13] Verrinder's employment at a Non-Conformist church was perhaps a sign of his dedication to marginalised religious institutions, as well as his ability to seek out high-quality musical posts which complemented his work at the West London

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[8] *London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754-1932*, 239. Verrinder's address is given as Grange Road, Ealing, where his daughter resided. Interestingly, in both this document and future census records, his age is recorded incorrectly, the nearly forty-year age gap between him and Ellen being reduced significantly. Similar 'errors' appear on earlier censuses where the fourteen years between him and his first wife were also diminished.

[9] *London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns*.

[10] 'Death of Mr. Verrinder', *Musical Herald*; 'Obituary', *Nonconformist Musical Journal* – this article reported that 'Mrs. Verrinder […] possesses a fine and well cultivated voice'.

[11] It would seem that the Verrinders retained their house in South Kensington, being – according to the 1901 Census and Verrinder's death certificate – tenants of 6 Webster Gardens in Ealing. Frederick and Alice Woolatt (née Verrinder) lived close by, on Grange Road.

[12] 'Death of Mr. Verrinder', *Musical Herald*.

[13] 'Obituary', *Nonconformist Musical Journal*; see also W. Garrett Horder, *The Hymn Lover: An Account of the Rise and Growth of English Hymnody* (London: J. Curwen, 1889); Clyde Binfield, 'W. Garrett Horder and Congregational Hymnody: An Introduction to *The Hymn Lover* and Its Author', in *Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Garrett Horder's stance on the development of church hymnody was that it grew out of the Old Testament psalms, which were – in his view – written so perfectly that new psalm texts based on the New Testament were unnecessary. Instead, the earliest hymns were re-arranged psalm texts (*The Hymn Lover*, 22-24).

Synagogue. According to the *Nonconformist Musical Journal*, 'Dr. Verrinder attracted more musical members to the choir, and so raised the standard of singing […] it was appropriate that the music of [Rev. Garrett Horder's] church should have been in such competent hands'.[14] The Church also attracted a 'prosperous, even influential' membership, 'the sort to warm to a thoughtful communicator who pulled his weight'.[15] Verrinder's evident enthusiasm for his work as an organist, composer and choral director – and the obvious affection both he and his wife held for the Ealing Church – would likely have comforted the congregation. The relative affluence of the Church's members may also have appealed to Verrinder given his dealings with such characters in the West London Synagogue and some of the central London churches.

Verrinder's interactions – and apparent friendship – with some of London's most prosperous residents did not appear to improve his own financial position; in fact, Ellen Verrinder's somewhat heart-breaking response to the Synagogue Council following Verrinder's death would suggest quite the reverse. In my exploration of Verrinder, I have often wondered about his true interest in his career at the Synagogue, questioning whether some elements of his practice were the work of a shrewd businessman. His written correspondence – in the press, to the Synagogue and in lectures – indicated his strong feelings towards the side-lining of Hebrew music and of recent progress made in synagogue musical practice; however, the necessity of finding and retaining employment as a professional musician might have been his principal concern, and thus the reason for his continued publication of Jewish musical works. The ability to effectively 'double up' his work as an organist by undertaking both church and synagogue duties (which generally fell on separate days of the week) would no doubt have improved his earning potential, and this 'strange combination of duties' provided him with an unusual niche – albeit with an added challenge of facing the anti-Jewish sensibilities of wider Victorian society.[16] However, Mrs Verrinder's letter – the most personal account of Verrinder from across his lifetime – proves that his dedication to the Synagogue financially disadvantaged him, and her. In an honest correspondence, which presumably took some bravery, she felt compelled to plead with the Council for monetary assistance following Verrinder's death:

> Although very difficult for me to write on such a subject, I feel that perhaps it is my duty to let the Council know in what position I am left. When my late Husband was appointed Organist of the Synagogue, he was a very poor man, all his life he was devoted to his work there, & anything that interfered with it in the slightest degree, was put aside at once; therefore he has never been able to give as many lessons as he would otherwise have done, & several good appointments offered to him, he refused. It was only right & just that

[14] 'Obituary', *Nonconformist Musical Journal*.
[15] Binfield, 'W. Garrett Horder', 161.
[16] *Illustrated Review*, 12 June 1873.

> any money brought him by his first wife should be left to her only child (a daughter who is now married) & this is as his will was arranged, so that with the exception of the house in which we lived in South Kensington which is mine for my life, I have absolutely nothing. My dear Husband always looked forward in case of his retirement, to receive a small pension in view of his long and faithful services at Berkeley Street, & I wondered if the Council might like to help his Widow. If they should care to do so, I shall be deeply grateful, as otherwise I shall have to work very hard, to keep my little home. I leave myself entirely in their hands; & I will conclude by saying that I have always heard Dr Verrinder speak in the very highest terms of the kindness he has received, & from my own experience I know that the work he did at Berkeley Street was dearer to his heart, than anything else in life, in fact I am sure he could not have lived without it, & so God took him whilst still "in harness" there, which had ever been his dearest wish.[17]

The outcome of this correspondence is unknown; a document which registered Verrinder's probate as a little under £2,500 (later crossed out and re-sworn as £17,000, presumably the total of his estate) would suggest that perhaps Ellen Verrinder's statement of her impoverishment was exaggerated – particularly given that she had been left the house on Finborough Road, South Kensington.[18] However, her plea confirms that Verrinder not only had to come to terms with religious 'otherness' at the Synagogue, but also overcame financial differences to become one of London's most prominent, admired and respected musicians among the Anglo-Jewish elite.

Ellen Verrinder's use of the expression 'in harness' was mirrored in the obituary in the *Musical Herald*, which opened:

> "I long to die in harness. Save me from a long illness."
>
> Dr. Verrinder had his wish.[19]

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[17] MS 140 AJ 59 40/3, July 1904. Underlining as in the original letter.

[18] *England and Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966, 1973-1995*. Joanna Newland's research into her great-great-grandfather's life confirms Mrs Verrinder's account, stating that: 'In his will, he left his leasehold house at Finborough Road in Kensington and all its furniture to his second wife Ellen under the terms of their Marriage Settlement. All his investments and cash were to be held by the Trustees for his daughter, Alice's, benefit. Any manuscripts, books, jewellery, etc not included in the Marriage Settlement were to be given to Alice and he requested that his son-in-law, Frederick, and his nephews […] should choose a ring or pin of his as a keepsake. After his daughter's death, any remaining income was to be distributed among her children'. It may also have been that Verrinder's executors, his nephew Christopher Charles Verrinder and an unknown Joseph Moore, apportioned this probate to Mrs Verrinder within the weeks following her husband's death.

[19] 'Death of Mr. Verrinder', *Musical Herald*.

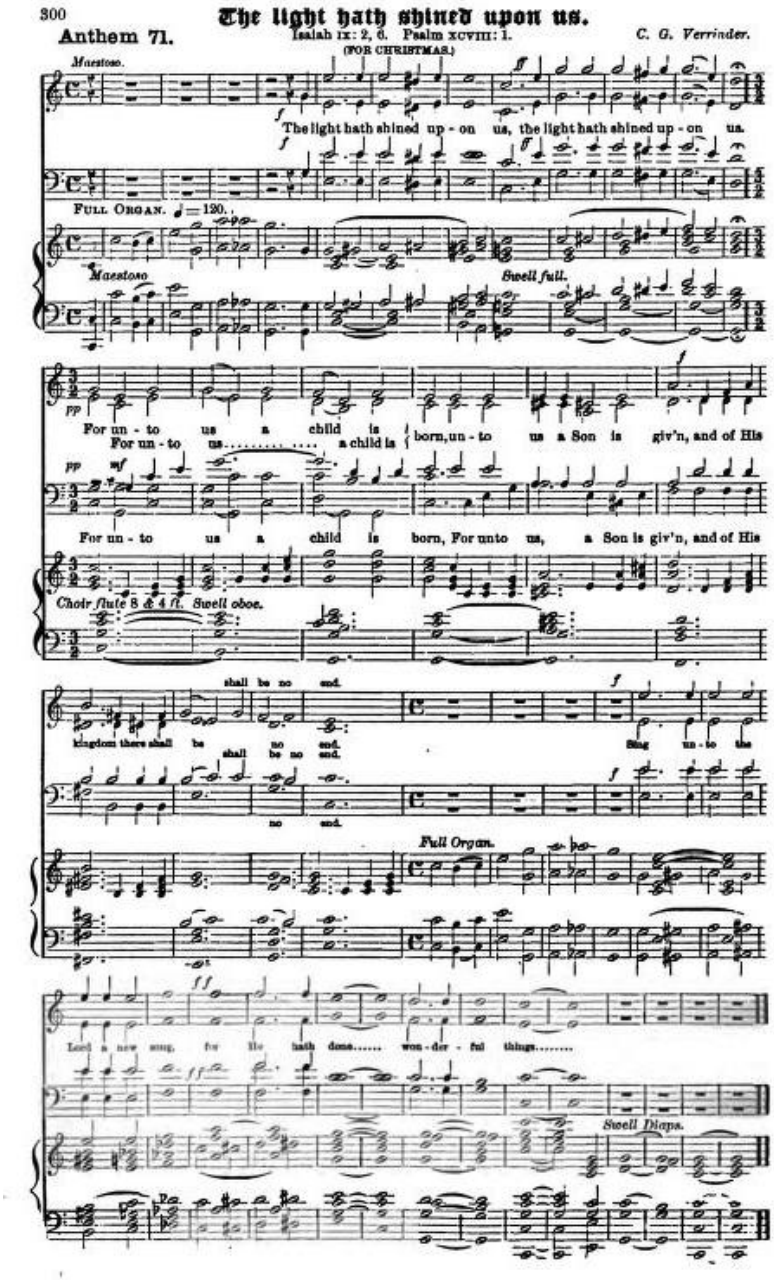
While principally referring to Verrinder's work at the West London Synagogue, the previous chapters of this dissertation have proven that this was inseparable from his other commitments as a composer, performer and musical educator across church, synagogue, and secular music spheres. Indeed, many of his choristers, as is the case in several British synagogues known for their quality of musical performance today, also had careers which spanned a number of musical environments – as theatre and concert soloists, choristers in other sacred venues, and as music teachers.[20] In effect, Verrinder set a trend for Jewish music in Britain which not only encouraged heightened musical quality within synagogue worship, but which demonstrated its position within an increasingly varied professionalised music scene, where career musicians required many strings to their bow out of necessity.

I have spoken little about Verrinder's church positions. With the exception of his first and last post (Holy Trinity, Windsor, where he completed his apprenticeship, and Ealing Congregational Church), Verrinder remained in each church for at least ten years, only leaving to take up his next position. Few of his church compositions exist today, with the exception of a handful (alongside some of his secular songs) in the British Library. As shown in Appendix 5, several of his works were included in collections of church anthems, voluntaries or other sacred songs, and others were published more than once, usually by Novello following an earlier publication elsewhere; his anthem 'The light hath shined upon us' appeared in Novello's list of 'Anthems for Christmas' almost every year between 1876 and 1904 (Example 1).[21] This and many other of his church compositions were based in Old Testament texts; while this was not uncommon, it seems particularly striking in a work to be sung during the Christmas period.[22]

[20] Examples of such choirs include those at Edgware and Hendon Reform, West London, and Belsize Square Synagogues, all of which have members who have had careers as operatic and oratorio soloists, recitalists, and teachers at leading music colleges which coincide with their synagogue work.

[21] 'Anthems for Christmas', *Musical Times*, 1 November 1876. Similar adverts were seen promoting Novello's works every year.

[22] C. G. Verrinder, 'The light hath shined upon us', in *The Parish Choir, Volume 2*, ed. C. L. Hutchins (Medford, Mass.: Published by the Editor, 1876), 300. The text is from Isaiah (including the passage 'for unto us a Child is born' brought to prominence in musical society by its inclusion in Handel's *Messiah*) and Psalm 98. It is interesting that Verrinder's anthem made it into volume two of an eighteen-volume collection of church music compiled and published in Massachusetts. The collection is a 'who's who' of Victorian British church composers, featuring contributions by Verrinder's colleagues such as Barnby, Ouseley, Smart, Stainer and Sullivan as well as some less familiar names (including Richard Redhead, the first organist of All Saints', Margaret Street). Works by other more well-known European composers including Gounod, Handel, Mozart and Spohr also appear across the volumes.



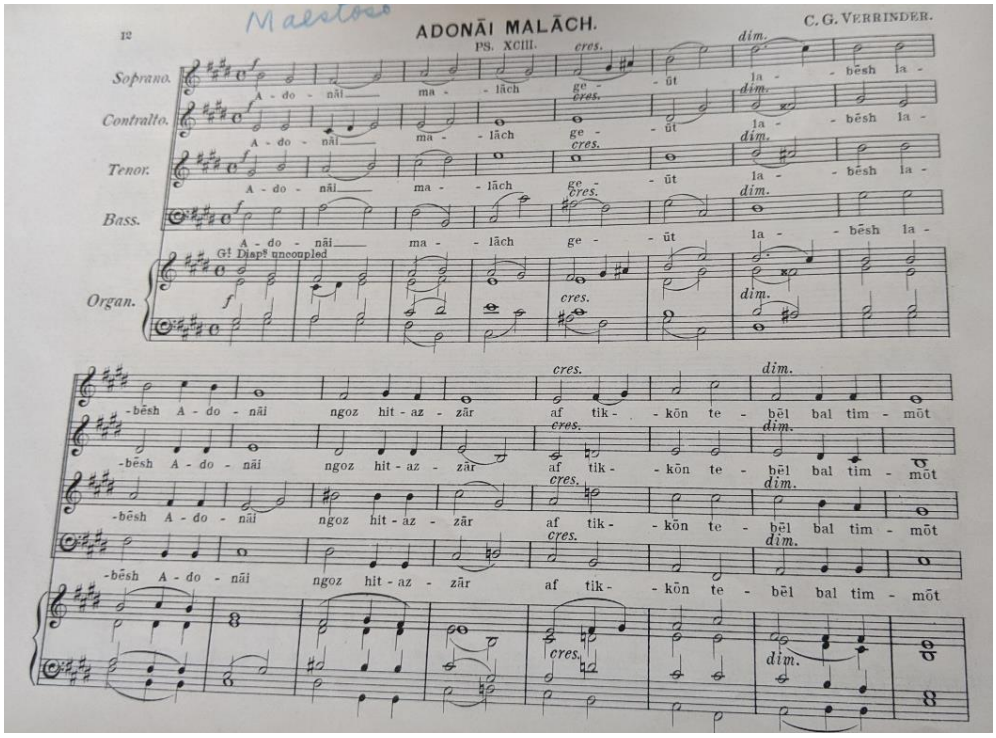
Example 1: C. G. Verrinder, 'The light hath shined upon us'. *The Parish Choir, Volume 2*.

Verrinder himself provided a helpful list of his compositional output in a 'not very temperate' letter to the *Illustrated Review* in June 1873, responding to the journal's opinion expressed the previous month that his compositions were 'limited in number and of little note'.[23] Verrinder stated that he had published 'about forty compositions', and explained that the reason for their unfamiliarity was that 'with the exception of twelve anthems, equally divided between Messrs. Novello and the late Mr. Surman,

[23] *Illustrated Review*, 15 May and 12 June 1873.

my works are my own property, and do not appear in the catalogues of musicsellers [sic.]'.[24] These facts make sense of many of the items listed in Appendix 5, the data for which was collected from advertisements and reviews in the national and musical press (as well as notes about occasional performances of his works in concerts and church or cathedral services); however, his letter to the *Illustrated Review* is a more comprehensive (if vague) list of his varied works, which included, at this date,

> cantatas, anthems, two volumes of complete services in Hebrew, and many ancient and modern Jewish melodies, harmonized [sic.] and arranged for voices and organ; a cathedral service, many organ pieces, part songs, songs, kyries, and hymn tunes, and chants, too numerous to mention.[25]

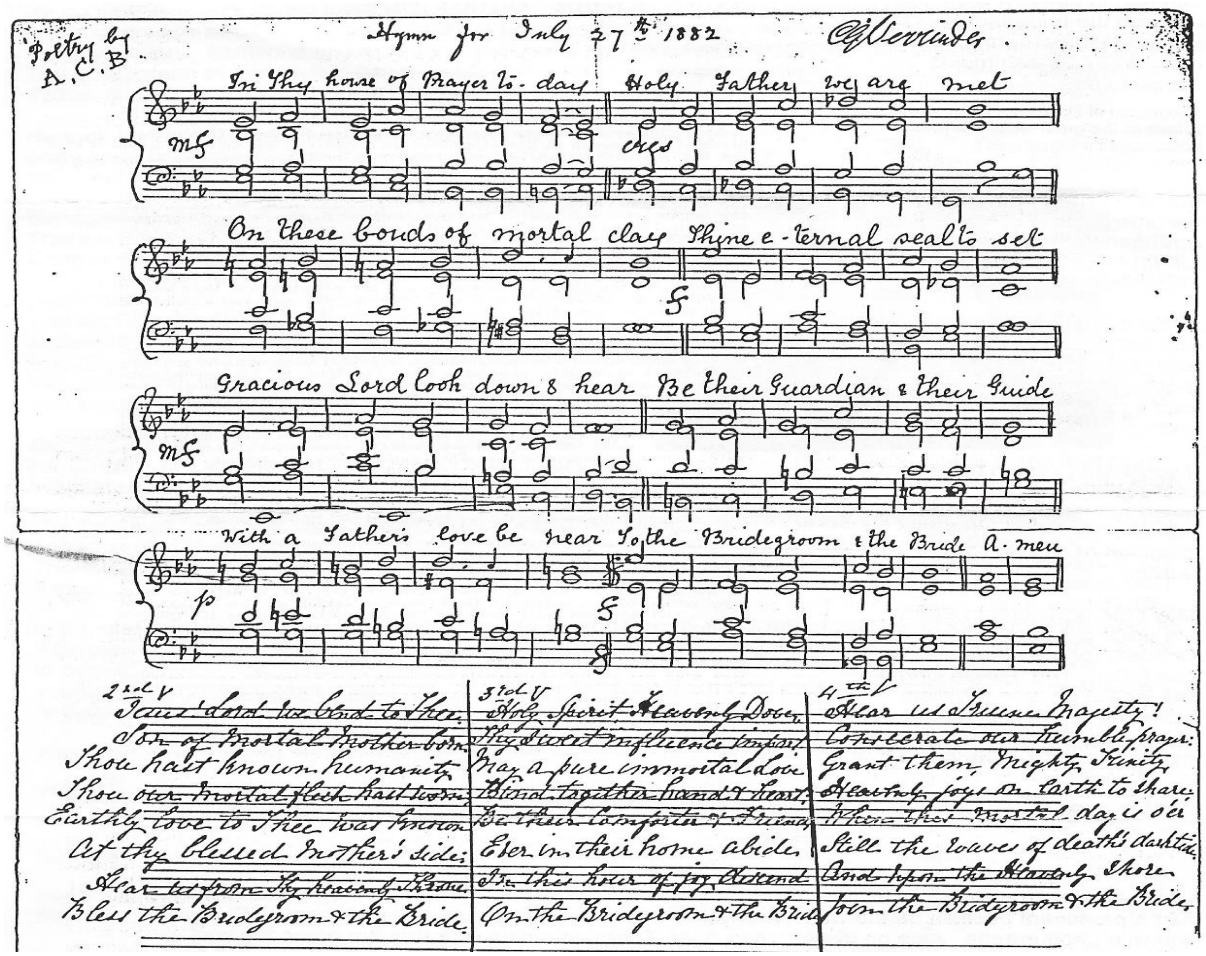


Example 2: 'Adonai Malach', composed by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used*... Volume 4.

I have found examples of some of these, while reviews exist of others. In light of examining both the compositional style and contemporary opinion of Verrinder's writing, and comparing this with his music for the West London Synagogue, it is interesting to note a number of musical traits across his canon of works – some of which did not go down terribly well with reviewers. Several critics of a variety of compositions commented on Verrinder's harmonic language, which often incorporated

[24] *Illustrated Review*, 12 June 1873.
[25] *Illustrated Review*, 12 June 1873.

unusual modulations or chord progressions. This is readily identifiable in his Synagogue writing; interrupted cadences and unexpected (occasionally clunky) moves to related keys provide both interesting harmonic colour and brief moments of questionable tonality. An example of this is Verrinder's 'Adonai Malach' in E major, found in Volume 4 of *The Music used….* (Example 2). The cadence into bar 8 implies a brief move to G# minor (without fifth) due to the D# major chord in bar 7. This is followed by an immediate move back to the tonic in the second half of bar 8, achieved only by a shift from a G# to an E in the Contralto line (all other voices stay on the same note as in the first half of the bar).

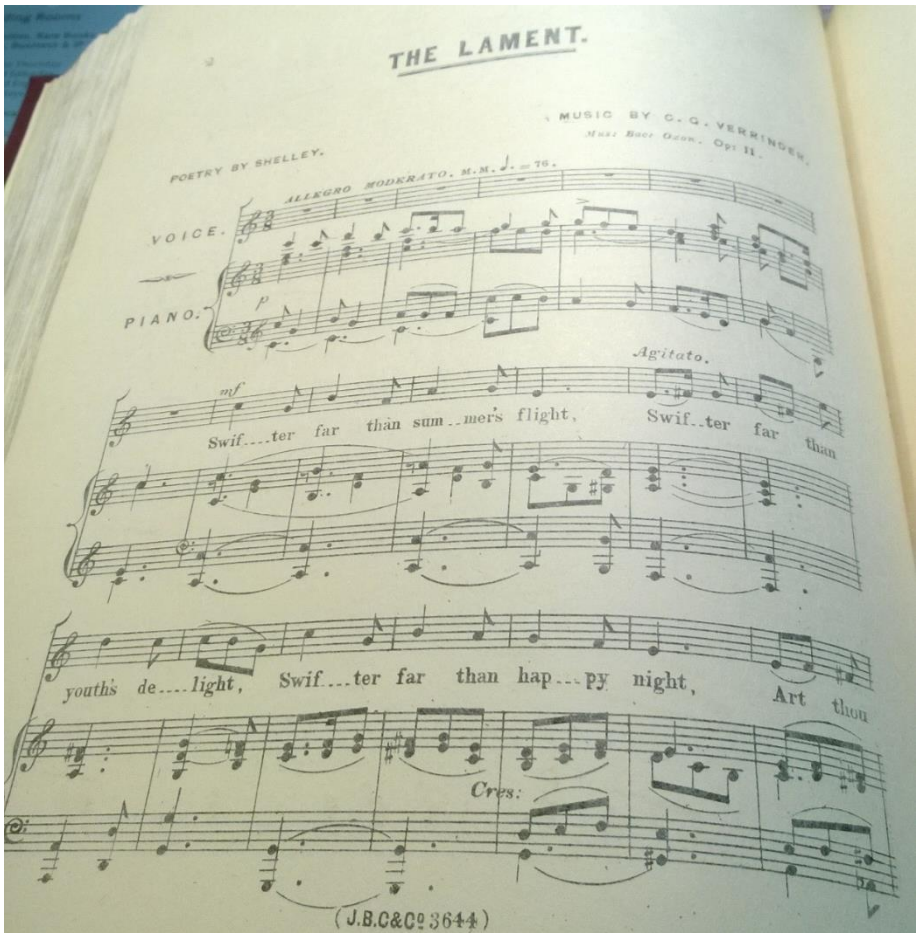


Example 3: C. G. Verrinder, 'In Thy House of Prayers Today'. Composed for the wedding of Alice Verrinder.

Another example using similar modulatory techniques is the hymn which Verrinder composed for his own daughter's wedding in 1882, kindly brought to my attention by Joanna Newland (Example 3).[26] Here, the tonic key of E flat major is barely seen between the opening and closing lines, with

[26] The manuscript used in this example was originally printed in *Verrinder Views*, a family magazine compiled in 1996 by Joanna Newland's 'distant cousin', Stan Verrinder, who has undertaken much research into his family's history.

unexpected (and often only briefly developed) modulations to G minor, A flat major and C major/G major before a sudden shift back to the home key.



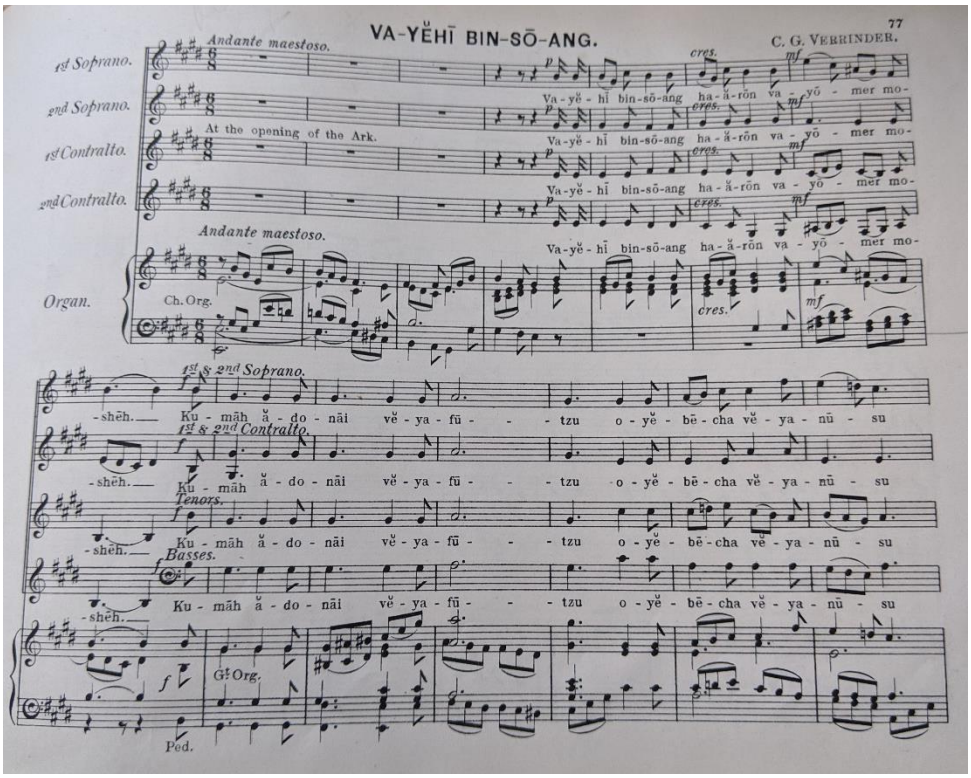
Example 4: C. G. Verrinder, *The Lament*. By permission of the British Library, Music Collections H.1787.o.(30.).

Some reviews of Verrinder's unusual harmonic language in his works for organ or church choir were particularly critical. A review of his *Te Deum, Jubilate, Sanctus, Kyrie and Nicene Creed,* published by Novello in 1869, inspired the comment that there was an 'almost total absence of anything like systematic modulation', although '[o]f transient modulation of a purposeless kind, there is enough, and to spare'.[27] A comment two years later regarding 'The light hath shined upon us' stated that Verrinder's use of 'sudden chromaticisms produce no adequate effect'.[28] Verrinder was also occasionally critiqued for his overcomplicated or challenging organ writing which would 'debar [his work] from appearing upon a great number of organ desks'; however, this – as in the review of *An Introduction and Six Variations on the Russian National Melody* – was often accompanied by praise for

[27] 'Novello, Ewer and Co.', *Musical Times,* 1 September 1869.

[28] 'Short Anthems, or Introits', *Musical Times,* 1 March 1871.

his musicianship and passages which, with 'careful playing', would be made 'very effective'.[29] In light of these particular comments, it is apparent how reserved Verrinder's organ accompaniments for the West London Synagogue were in comparison, although perhaps unsurprisingly his organ and piano writing was generally far less florid when set as an accompaniment to solo or choral voices.



Example 5: 'Va-yehi Bin-so-ang', composed by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 4.

Wollenberg has described Verrinder's Synagogue writing style as 'Mendelssohnian', reflecting suggestions made in the review of his cantata *Israel* and also found in some of his more lyrical song writing. His setting of Shelley's *The Lament* for voice and piano, while criticised for its 'tiresome repetitions' which were 'between him and a deserved success', indicates some inspiration taken from Mendelssohn's song-writing and even from the *Songs without Words*, particularly in the relationship between melody and accompaniment in the piano arrangement and his use of pedal notes over changing harmonies (Example 4).[30] Some of his harmonisation also foreshadows elements of Sullivan's later operatic work (notably his tonic pedal notes underneath a shift from a tonic to an implied dominant seventh chord). A similar effect can also be found in some of his more lyrical writing for the Synagogue; his composition 'Va-yehi Bin-so-ang' in Volume 4, in compound time and the first section arranged for

[29] 'Reviews', *Musical Standard*, 11 April 1874.

[30] 'Two Scenas', *Musical Standard*, 20 July 1867. See also C. G. Verrinder, *The Lament* (London: J. B. Cramer and Co., c. 1862-1867). The *Musical Standard* review is of an edition published by Lamborn Cock.

female voices only in four-part harmony, feels distinctly Mendelssohnian both in terms of texture and harmonic movement (Example 5). Here, pedal points and unexpected cadences (such as a dramatic shift to C major from an E major tonic key) are used effectively and with more purpose, demonstrating Verrinder's ability for more sensitive harmonic writing.

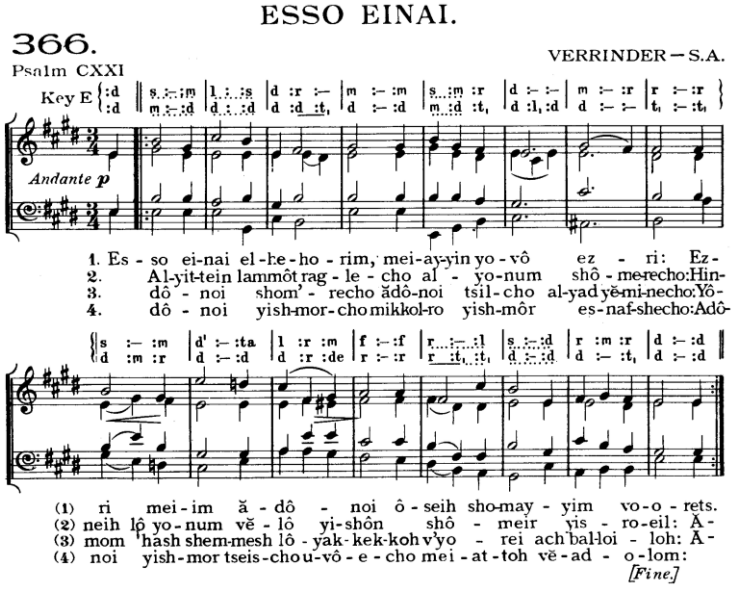
Based on my investigation of his sacred and secular works, Verrinder's writing style was consistent across his compositional canon. He treated his different performance spaces with consideration, adapting the format and structure of his pieces according to the environment; however, his attitude appears to have been that if a style were acceptable in one arena, it could be made suitable for another. *The Music used…* incorporates choral anthems, contrapuntal part songs and more lyrical melodies (both arrangements of ancient tunes and original compositions), all of which can be found within his broader opus of works. This ties in neatly with his own assertions – as presented in correspondence and lectures – that Christian and Jewish musical practices as they had progressed over centuries shared a biblical origin; thus, hymnody, chants and anthems belonged as much in the synagogue as they did in the church. Furthermore, these genres, with names and styles obviously familiar to the Jewish community as much as within Christian circles (as indicated through references to them in correspondence found in the *Jewish Chronicle* relating to liturgical music of both faiths), revived and reinforced the various elements of the Jewish worship service. Psalms, *piyyutim* and blessings all required nuanced musical interpretations, evidenced by the diversity of existing musical material which found its way into contemporary synagogue practice across temporal and geographical transmission. Verrinder's apparent modernising of this liturgy was not out of disregard for older styles, but out of respect for their spiritual meaning; as such, he broke down the historical and cultural barriers which had, for many, made the devotional significance of this material inaccessible.

Despite the occasional criticisms concerning Verrinder's musical language, the response was generally positive; Verrinder noted the praise which came from '[s]ome […] of the most eminent in my profession' concerning his repertoire for church, synagogue, and concert hall. He also claimed in particular that 'several Cathedral organists as well as other professional and amateur musicians fail not to express to me their admirations of the [Synagogue's] musical arrangements'.[31] This comment referred both to Verrinder's music and of 'the improved conditions and status of the Synagogue choir'; Verrinder stated that the commendations he had received from both within and outside the Synagogue 'stimulates me to further exertions […] the interest I have always taken in the duties of my office is intensely increased'. His ability to inspire such praise in those whose musical careers took a more conventional pathway, particularly within an environment of ingrained Jewish antipathy, is perhaps the best indication of Verrinder's success not just at a Synagogue level, but in his achievements for the promotion of Jewish music more widely. In contrast with his forty-five years at the West London Synagogue, Verrinder's loyal but transient work for the Anglican Church suggests that Verrinder saw

[31] *Illustrated Review*, 12 June 1873; MS 140 AJ 59 1/2, 8 December 1870.

his role there as but one of many hundreds of professional musicians able to serve and support developments in Anglican musical worship. At the Synagogue, his responsibility was more embedded; not only was his role as organist more significant to Jewish practice than to the church, but Verrinder's instrumentality in expanding Jewish liturgical repertoire, achieving high-quality choral music, and bringing the Jewish musical canon to the wider public also made him more than just the Synagogue's organist. To that end, there is an impression of wishing to see something through from its inception, and ensuring that his work was never compromised by being left in someone else's less capable or dedicated hands. His work was not in preservation, but in ensuring that Anglo-Jewish music remained open to new influences and practices in line with religious, social, and cultural developments for the community he served.

Perhaps ironically for the man trained by long-term Royal Organist Sir George Elvey, of which the *Musical Herald* wrote '[a] better training in the solid Anglican school cannot be imagined', Verrinder appeared to feel a greater sense of 'belonging' in the Synagogue than he did in any of his churches.[32] In fact, far from using the Synagogue to 'double up' his income as a performer of sacred music, it seems that his church positions – in lieu of being able to undertake cathedral work – financially and culturally supplemented his extensive and unexpected relationship with Jewish music, and ensured him a place at the centre of London's musical circles. His professional potential as a cathedral musician apparently suffered, as did his personal financial legacy; however, it is from this position – on the cusp of the sacred and secular musical world – that he had the most significant impact on the direction of Jewish music which is still performed in British synagogues today.



Example 6a: C. G. Verrinder, Psalm 121. The 'Blue Book' Supplement (added 1933).

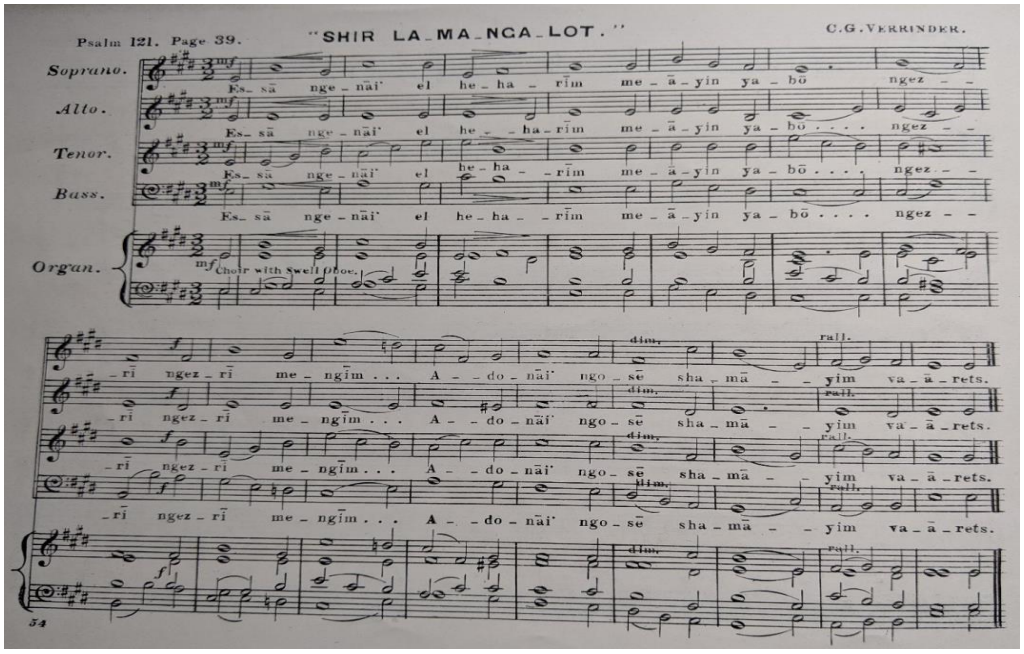
[32] 'Death of Mr. Verrinder', *Musical Herald*.

As I mentioned earlier in this dissertation, Verrinder's role as a Synagogue organist – while his mode of entry into the Jewish musical world – perhaps pales into insignificance when one considers his contribution more broadly to the diffusion of Anglo-Jewish music. With the exception of the West London Synagogue, Verrinder's compositions and arrangements are often performed and heard today *a capella* and based on the versions printed in the 'Blue Book'. With regards to his most famous piece, Psalm 121 ('Essa Enai', the composition which, in effect, inspired this dissertation), this has had a striking impact on how the melody has been transmitted across communities as well as across the 'modern/traditional' divide. Not only does the 'Blue Book' version – rearranged by Samuel Alman and included in the volume's 1933 Supplement – incorporate a strange and likely unintentional E/E# clash between the Alto and Tenor lines in bar 11 (Example 6a; this was probably a misprint, with the Tenor intended to sing a C#) which is not present in Verrinder's own arrangement (Example 6b), but it also re-voices the same two parts in bar 6, giving the Alto line a brief moment of prominence through a short, rocking motif (presumably taken from the organ accompaniment of Verrinder's original composition, in which the E-C#-E motion is more obvious than in the vocal arrangement where it is shared between the Alto and Tenor). Perhaps resulting from the fact that all other voices are static during this bar, this motif has become absorbed into Verrinder's melody when it is sung in unison; moreover, if one is asked to sing the 'traditional *Essa Enai*' tune, Verrinder's composition – complete with Alman's rocking motif – is invariably the result. Despite its late inclusion in the 'Blue Book', Verrinder's 'Essa Enai' reinforces his complex place in the realm of Jewish music; perhaps not fully appreciated for his contribution, particularly with regards to the skill and extensive musical training with which he created his specific musical arrangements, his legacy nonetheless continues as part of the Anglo-Jewish musical 'tradition'.[33] In line with his desire for musical progress, it seems appropriate that Verrinder's music – now itself part of a historic repertoire – is used across twenty-first-century British synagogue worship in a multitude of ways, according to the needs of each congregation: with organ accompaniment; *a capella*; in unison; chorally; congregationally; with moderated textual underlay (and pronunciation); and, increasingly common amongst progressive and liberal synagogues, with accompaniment other than organ or keyboard.

By way of an Epilogue, Susan Wollenberg completes her work on Verrinder's contribution to the West London Synagogue by speaking briefly about his successor, Percy Rideout, hired late in 1904

[33] For contrasting performances of Verrinder's Psalm 121, refer to my choir *Kol Echad*'s 2019 concert at Michaelhouse Chapel, Cambridge (performing the 'Blue Book' version); a rather raucous all-male rendition sung by the Spanish and Portuguese Choir (Verrinder's original); and Cantor Paul Heller's solo version inspired by the 'Blue Book', with the rocking motif incorporated into the melody (all accessed 1 July 2020):
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1owX_nb5O-Y (4:20);
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhvdYthydMc (4:46);
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHrDQnLjnzc.

following a trial 'during the recent Festivals'.[34] Trained at the Royal College of Music under Hubert Parry, he had received his Doctorate in 1896 from the University of London.[35] Wollenberg emphasises Rideout's own longstanding commitment to the Synagogue, remaining in post for fifty years (five years longer than Verrinder) and apparently 'learning Hebrew within three months of being appointed'. His testimonials included letters of recommendation from the ministers of St Paul's Church, Great Portland Street and St Philip's, Regent Street, as well as from his degree examiners, one of whom wrote from the Chapel Royal, Windsor.[36]



Example 6b: Psalm 121, 'Shir La-ma-gna-lot', composed by C. G. Verrinder. *The Music used...* Volume 2.

The similarities between Rideout and Verrinder's careers are striking; in fact, according to the current organist, Christopher Bowers-Broadbent, the Synagogue has never hired a Jewish organist (presumably in part due to the relative absence in Britain of Jewish musicians trained on the instrument). Wollenberg cites the papers held at the Royal College of Music Library which include a number of Rideout's compositions for the Synagogue, suggesting that, like Verrinder, he 'carr[ied] out his duties with unfailing devotion to the institution, evidently very much in the spirit with which his predecessor

[34] Danielle Padley and Susan Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder: London's First Synagogue Organist', forthcoming in *Ad Parnassum Studies* 12 (2020): 174. The Synagogue's archives state that 'several' candidates applied for the position, suggesting a less competitive field than the 'over fifty' applications they had received in 1859; see MS 140 AJ 59 40/3.

[35] 'Rideout, Dr. Percy Rodney (1868-?)', in *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Robert Evans and Maggie Humphreys (London: Mansell, 1997), 283-284. Rideout died in 1956, a year after his retirement from the West London Synagogue.

[36] MS 140 AJ 59 40/3.

had graced the post'.[37] However, Wollenberg's research highlights an interesting difference between the two musicians: namely, that Rideout ultimately released control of the choir, continuing his role as organist without the added responsibilities of also being the Synagogue's choirmaster, a role Verrinder had acquired and retained since 1862.[38] While this was apparently undertaken against the wishes of the choir, it perhaps is indicative of Rideout's attachment to his performing role at the Synagogue in preference to a responsibility for its overall musical practice. The RCM papers also suggest that his work beyond the Synagogue was less focussed on promoting Jewish music than Verrinder's had been. While he did compose a number of works for the Synagogue, these were generally not published, nor did he appear to write any correspondence on the subject in the Jewish or musical press. I have found two instances of lectures given by Rideout on Jewish musical themes: the first, a presentation titled 'Jewish Influence in Music', at the West London Synagogue Association; the second a paper on 'a link between the music of the Christian Church and the music of the Jews', delivered to the 'Choir-Trainers' League'.[39] The descriptions of both papers, in combination with the fact that they were given within eighteen months of one another, suggest that they were based on the same research, which explored the descendance of Christian music from ancient Hebrew practices. No mention in either presentation was given of contemporary Jewish music. Overall, Rideout's presence in the press is much more limited than Verrinder's, with his correspondence generally relating to matters of performance technique.

Rideout's contribution to the West London Synagogue, while on the surface mirroring Verrinder's own in terms of his Anglican background and long-term dedication to his work, perhaps demonstrates that Verrinder's legacy was ultimately hard to follow. Barbara Borts suggests that both organists – in conjunction with the Synagogue itself – demonstrated a focus on the organ and on high-quality music over the spiritual and devotional needs of the congregation.[40] I would argue that while Verrinder was clearly proud of his achievements, and wished them to be acknowledged, his personal sacrifice to ensure that he and his choir performed to their fullest potential, satisfied the needs of their community, and unified the Synagogue's musical practices with broader Victorian cultural taste,

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[37] Padley and Wollenberg, 'Charles Garland Verrinder', 174. See also 'Rideout, Percy Rodney', Papers of Percy Rodney Rideout, presented by his son, Denis Rideout, 27 January 1987, in *Manuscripts, letters & papers in the Royal College of Music Library*.

[38] Maurice Jacobson was appointed Choirmaster at the Synagogue in 1832; see Barbara Borts, 'Mouths filled with song: British Reform Judaism through the lens of its music'(PhD diss., Durham University, 2014), 63, and MS 140 AJ 175 40/4, February 1932. The present organist, Christopher Bowers-Broadbent, resumed the dual role of organist and choirmaster in 2012; see 'Music at WLS' (accessed 16 December 2020): https://www.wls.org.uk/music-at-wls.

[39] 'Jewish Influence in Music', *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 February 1917; 'Choir-Trainers' League', *Musical Times*, 1 August 1918.

[40] Borts, 'Mouths filled with song', 57, 59. Borts infers that Verrinder's continued appeals to the Synagogue wardens for a raise in both his and his choristers' salaries (particularly following the move to the much larger Upper Berkeley Street building) throws doubt on the suggestion that the West London Synagogue considered musical activity an important part of its worship.

demonstrated him to be ultimately selfless in his promotion of Jewish music and musicians over his own professional abilities.

Practice, Publications, Performance

I began this dissertation with an assertion made by many: that Anglo-Jewish subjects, and Jewish music more broadly, remain on the margins of British history, studies of European Jewry and musicological research, if not ignored altogether. The preparatory reading around my topic combined an array of historical, theoretical, and sociological discussions of Jewish identity, which drew me to consider, as I outlined in my Introduction and in Chapter One, that my chosen area of study is both closely linked with and generally absent from research into nineteenth-century Jewish society. In questioning why the Victorian Anglo-Jewish community has been so maligned in terms of their contributions to music, accusations that nineteenth-century British music was insignificant in terms of quality or impact, combined with the notion that Jewish liturgical music was unaffected by the main political, religious, and social circumstances driving European Jewish society, have provided me with evidence for a different approach to this topic. To that end, I embarked on a micro-study – the end-point of Mark Slobin's diasporic vision – in order to investigate just how 'micro' the Victorian Anglo-Jewish musical sphere was within the context of broader (Jewish) musical history. And in conclusion, I would argue that when distanced from the grand narratives of European Jewry, the examination of nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish musical society opens up its own place within wider histories, asserting its position within broader cultural studies of Victorian music.

My discussion of Verrinder's work throughout this dissertation has fallen broadly into three categories, presented over the course of three chapters. Chapter Two addressed Verrinder's musical practice in the form of his organ arrangements, steeped in Anglican musical training but made suitable for Jewish worship; Chapter Three placed his synagogue publications in the context of others of the same period; and Chapter Four outlined his range of performance materials – concerts, compositions, and lectures – presented beyond the Synagogue, which promoted the normalisation of Jews and Jewish music in wider Victorian society. However, as indicated across this work and especially in the paragraphs above, it is impossible to discuss one area without drawing in information and material from another. Verrinder's compositions for the Synagogue can only be fully appreciated for their contribution to Jewish music when placed in the context of his other sacred and secular work. Perhaps more significantly, detailed explorations of Verrinder's life and career outside the West London Synagogue – an area which has been particularly ignored even by those whose research has revolved around his role at the Synagogue – have provided a large amount of new information which correct a number of misconceptions regarding the history of Anglo-Jewish music and its key players.

Chapter Two addressed some of the details known or assumed about Verrinder, and provided clear evidence for how and when inaccuracies have entered academic research; for instance, Alexander

Knapp's acknowledgement of Verrinder's apparently 'German' background, which has implications for understanding his place within British musical society. While a minor detail, I have enjoyed trying to trace Verrinder's exact date of birth, which has been reported as anything between 1834 and 1848 (perhaps not surprising given some of the details on Census records), with most reports approximating 1835 (Wollenberg suggests 1839). I have yet to finalise an exact birthdate, although the records I have explored would suggest sometime between the very end of June and mid-September 1834. A knowledge of Verrinder's family, their working-class background and various occupations also reinforces the extent to which Verrinder was a religious, social, and financial outsider at the West London Synagogue. While I have hypothesised around his role as the 'Other' within this context, it is perhaps still up for debate which aspect of his 'Otherness' created most difficulty for his dealings with the Synagogue's wardens and congregation. Borts highlights an interesting dichotomy between comparable letters from Verrinder and Charles Salaman over the Synagogue's ownership of and response to their works; she attributes the fact that Salaman defended himself more forcefully to the fact that Verrinder, 'however beloved he was, remained an outsider within the congregation'.[41] Given the many musical components of not just the West London Synagogue, but of British synagogue worship altogether, which drew influence from a variety of national, cultural, and religious musical practices, it may be that Verrinder's 'Otherness' as an Anglican musician was of less direct impact to his role at the Synagogue than his social status as a working-class one.

Despite being one of the most in-depth studies of the West London Synagogue's musical origins to date, Barbara Borts' doctoral dissertation left many lines of enquiry open due to the primary sources used – principally, the West London Synagogue's archives and Novello editions of *The Music used…*. In Chapter Three, I have provided answers to some of her questions and corrected some of the assumptions which, in light of new material, can be safely put to one side. I refer in particular to the assertion that Verrinder might have taken inspiration for *The Music used…* from the 'Blue Book', which we now know is not possible given the relative publication dates of the two collections.[42] Furthermore, her discussions with Eliot Alderman left doubts regarding Verrinder's use of the tunes from *The Ancient Melodies*, Alderman being uncertain 'whether Verrinder learned his melodies from the Aguilar/De Sola book, or from aural transmission'.[43] I have established that Verrinder transcribed the melodies from Sir John Simon, but that his arrangements indicate that he had access to the 1857 volume; moreover, the 'third complicating factor' according to Borts, the Sephardi melodies found in the 'Blue Book', also shows clear evidence of inspiration taken from the previous two collections, rather than the other way round (also negated by the collections' chronology).

Such in depth investigations of Verrinder's *The Music used…*'s various volumes, editions and copies has been a particularly worthwhile challenge, through which I have been able to provide

[41] Borts, 'Mouths filled with song', 60.
[42] Borts, 'Mouths filled with song', 52.
[43] Borts, 'Mouths filled with song', 52.

significant new material to the understanding of the period's varied Anglo-Jewish musical collections, their inspirations and their approaches to Jewish and non-Jewish distribution. It is also a challenge which continues to unearth new material; I am still discovering small pieces of information which shed light on Verrinder's mysterious collection of Hebrew Psalms set to Anglican chant. It was only through a recent look through the Index to a Novello edition of Volume 1 that I discovered the reference, between the performance of pieces on pages 45 and 46 respectively, to the 'Psalms for the day', for which there is the instruction 'see Psalter'. This perhaps makes sense of a small amendment between the Lamborn Cock and Novello editions of the Volume, in which Edward Hart's own Anglican chant-style setting of Psalm 105 was moved from after the 'Kaddish Responses' – which themselves appear to have been swapped from Salaman's to Verrinder's arrangement between the Addison and the Lamborn Cock editions – to the very end of the Volume, almost as an appendix. However, this would suggest that there was also a slight restructuring of the West London Synagogue's service during this time, given that Hart's Psalm setting is not in the exact position within the musical service as the new 'Psalm for the day', but two pieces earlier. This would require another look at the Synagogue's *siddurim* from the period, although we know that a new prayer book was published in 1870 – the year of the Lamborn Cock edition.

Again, these details feel small, and do not contribute much to the overall vision of nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish musical history in comparison with the more significant discoveries I outlined in Chapter Three. However, it is important to remember that Verrinder's volumes – perhaps more so than either *The Ancient Melodies* or the 'Blue Book' – give current researchers a genuine insight into the West London Synagogue's musical service as it was performed during the period. While *The Music used…* does not contain a Preface or historical essay, like either of the other collections, its self-explanatory title and its presentation in service order reveals much about its usage – in all its various forms. It is interesting to observe that, in the two sets of volumes I have acquired since the start of my research – one borrowed from the West London Synagogue, the other donated by the JHSE's David Jacobs – the most dilapidated books containing the greatest number of choir annotations are the two copies of Volume 2. Given that this volume contains most original material by Verrinder, this too is an indication of his prominence heading into the mid- to late-twentieth century (when it is presumed these particular volumes were last used). As an aside and comparison, my own copy of the 'Blue Book', which I inherited on my induction to the Edgware and District Reform Synagogue choir and which provides about half of the musical repertoire currently performed at the Synagogue, is in a similar state of disrepair!

While my findings in Chapter Three look to contribute to the history of Anglo-Jewish liturgical music within the context of 'Jewish music' research, it is Chapter Four which presents the most new material regarding the interactions between the Synagogue and Victorian music-making more broadly. This research has not only drawn comparisons between compositions written for the synagogue and the church, but also placed this within discussions of a mediating space – the concert hall. Borts' work,

while principally concerned with music-making in British Reform synagogues, touches on this topic in her discussion of Salaman's versus Verrinder's respective correspondence with the Synagogue wardens, indicating the nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewish synagogue as a site of early 'interfaith dialogue'. She refers to Salaman's letter of February 1867, which addressed the 'incongruous manner' in which the Synagogue wardens chose to interpret music as 'Jewish' or otherwise. Salaman had been affronted by the wardens' concern that some of his compositions had reached church services. He thus retorted with the suggestion not only that the wardens had 'the right of withdrawing the compositions from use in the service of the synagogue', but also that perhaps they should 'abolish nearly all the Christian Chants so admirably adapted to the Hebrew Psalms by our talented organist […,] withdraw from performance some of my adaptations of Mendelssohn's Elijah', and be rid of other tunes which had made their way into oratorios and concert music (including Nathan's *Hebrew Melodies*).[44] In her discussion of this correspondence, Borts not only acknowledges the superior attitude taken by the wardens which implied that it was acceptable to adopt '[c]ontrefacta from the Christian world', but also their apparent view that 'music from the Jewish sphere which then passes into the Christian world negates its Jewishness'. More significantly, she states that:

> Salaman was right to highlight the inconsistency of the argument, and deftly hints at the way music, whether liturgical or otherwise, drifts between religions, and the concert stage, quite freely. It is a pity he did not consider the topic in more details [sic.], but it is amusing to think that music was in the vanguard of interfaith dialogue.[45]

As a little more exploration has demonstrated, Salaman, Verrinder and a number of other Jewish and non-Jewish musicians were acutely aware of music's ability to draw together people of different faiths, both historically and within the context of Victorian Britain; moreover, the notion that music was at the forefront of interfaith dialogue has origins in the earliest musical traditions of both Judaism and Christianity, as Verrinder himself asserted in his letter to the *Musical Standard* of that same year (1867).

I believe, however, that this discussion goes beyond interfaith discourse, as my Introduction suggested. The more significant aspect of Borts' comment, and the area I have 'considered in more detail', is the nature of musical 'drifting' across sacred and secular spaces – not just of musical repertoire, but of composers, performers and social music-making ideals. David Conway and Judah Cohen have most recently begun to pave the way for the discussion of Jewish musical society, indicating not only the presence of Jewish musicians within the Christian and secular music scenes across Europe (in Conway's work), but also, in Cohen's case, the presence of a system of American-Jewish social

[44] Borts, 'Mouths filled with song', 55.
[45] Borts, 'Mouths filled with song', 55-56.

music-making outside of the synagogue.[46] It is the British equivalent of this which I have particularly begun to explore in my final chapter through the investigation of sacred and secular choral works sensitive to Jewish performers and their religious and cultural restrictions, the interplay between religious and national loyalties such as that as seen in Verrinder's *Hear my cry O God*, and the role of the synagogue choir as a training ground for young professional singers (such as Leonora Braham).

This preliminary examination has prepared me to undertake further research into the existence of a network of what I would refer to as 'Anglo-Jewish music-making' which ran parallel to, and overlapped with, the musical world of Victorian England. Conway has undertaken detailed research on the composers and performers whose names have retained some prominence, and whose lives generally revolved around the non-Jewish musical scene. My goal is to embed this within an exploration of those not at the upper echelons of musical society. In the main, this would involve investigating musicians like Verrinder – prominent within their own communities or social circles, but whose contributions have perhaps not left a lasting impression. However, as I have proven in Verrinder's case, much of his work for the Jewish community permeated Victorian society through subtle means and everyday interactions. If he was involved in concerts, sharing conversations, and attending dinners with the likes of his better-known contemporaries John Stainer, Charles Villiers Stanford, and Arthur Sullivan, it can be assumed that other musicians involved in the Jewish musical scene also crossed paths with those whose careers have had a greater legacy. In an age of digital humanities, I can see this project having an impact on the way we view Victorian musical networks. Furthermore, it has the potential to interact with collaborative and more practical ventures, perhaps expanding the remit of the recent 'Sounding Victorian' project and contributing further information to the ongoing 'Jewish Lives' project at the Jewish Museum.[47]

While much of this work will incorporate treading familiar yet unexplored ground, there are two further dimensions to a new research project which have been dedicated little space in this dissertation. As demonstrated by my use of Verrinder as a case study, the Anglo-Jewish musical narrative is one made up of individuals and not of 'movements'; to that end, and despite claims by some of its most prominent contemporary supporters, the community of 'British Jews' does not satisfactorily fall into a neat and definable category. This is writ large in my discussion of Verrinder as the 'double

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[46] David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Judah M. Cohen, *Jewish Religious Music in Nineteenth-Century America: Restoring the Synagogue Soundtrack* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2019).

[47] 'Sounding Victorian' is a project which aims to bring to life various aspects of the Victorian cultural and literary scene, with sub-projects including 'Sounding the Salon', 'Sounding Tennyson' and the upcoming 'Sounding Hymns'. The 'Jewish Lives Project' run by the Jewish Museum is an online 'biographical dictionary of prominent British Jews, past and present'. Currently, the latter includes very few of the individuals named in my research; those mentioned are invariably members of the Anglo-Jewish elite, such as Frederick Mocatta and John Simon, rather than musicians. See the websites of both projects (accessed 26 June 2020) http://www.soundingvictorian.org/; https://www.jewishlivesproject.com/home.

man' – worthy of inclusion in accounts of Anglo-Jewish music, yet a religious outsider whose impact can be attributable at least in part to his 'Otherness'. However, there is more in the broader discussion of Anglo-Jewry than religious differences; while the image presented is one of a generally affluent upper- and middle-class community of 'British Jews', even within the West London Synagogue we can see a variety of financial classes amongst both the congregation and those who provided specific services. Furthermore, religious observance was not as 'black and white' as the Orthodox/Reform debate would suggest – a spectrum of observance levels and religious priorities existed throughout the Anglo-Jewish community. There are two communities which I have almost entirely evaded in this dissertation, apart from through nominal mentions: the first is what is patronisingly referred to in the *Jewish Chronicle* as the 'provincial' community; namely Jewish individuals and congregations who did not reside in London. Historians whose specialist interest is the Jewish community of specific urban centres outside of the capital have undertaken significant work in this area, such as Bill Williams' writing on Jewish Manchester, Zoe Josephs' projects on Birmingham Jewry and Derek Fraser's recent history of the Jewish community in Leeds.[48] However, as demonstrated by my discussion of Verrinder's predecessor Mr Shepley, who beat Verrinder to becoming the first synagogue organist in England by holding the position in Manchester from 1858 (see Chapter Two), these communities have been regularly overlooked or forgotten. It is an accepted phenomenon that historical accounts of 'British Jews', unless otherwise specified, will relate almost entirely to upper- and middle-class London society.

The second community I have bypassed here is the immigrant Jewish contingent which flocked to the East End in their hundreds of thousands from the 1880s to the turn of the twentieth century. While their presence and behaviours influenced how others perceived their own Anglo-Jewish identities and enacted upon them, many had an entirely separate religious, social and – in some instances – verbal language. The political and cultural histories written immediately following this period, up to the aftermath of the Second World War, treated them as independent from the history of British Jews. Even now, their stories are placed within a discrete subgenre: the 'Jews of the East End', with their own class, financial and cultural associations.[49] Any future research would necessitate further exploration of the

[48] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976); Zoe Josephs, *Birmingham Jewry, Volume 1: 1749-1914*, and *Birmingham Jewry, Volume 2: More Aspects, 1740-1930*, ed. Josephs (Birmingham: Birmingham Jewish Research Group, 1980 and 1984); Derek Fraser, ed., *Leeds and its Jewish Community: A History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019). Others have also undertaken research into these areas and into the Jewish communities in other cities across the United Kingdom, sometimes in collaboration with regional branches of the JHSE – such as Murray Freedman's own research on *Leeds Jewry: The First Hundred Years* (Leeds: Jewish Historical Society of England, Leeds Branch, 1992). On being unable to find a book I had requested in the Cambridge University Library, my Swansea-born husband substituted it with *The Jews of South Wales: Historical Studies*, edited and largely written by Ursula R. Q. Henriques (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), which provides a fascinating insight into the surprisingly large and diverse Welsh Jewish community of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[49] Works cited by Dennis Grube in his chapter 'The New Jewish Threat', in *At the Margins of Victorian Britain: Politics, Immorality and Britishness in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, 2013) include:

interactions between this section of the Anglo-Jewish community and the wider Jewish and non-Jewish musical world, adding yet another dimension to the notion of musical hybridity within the nineteenth-century British synagogue.

Through detailed explorations of an Anglo-Jewish musical sphere which extends beyond upper- and middle-class London, there also is the potential for this work to interact more effectively with similar studies of Jewish musical Europe and America, such as those undertaken by Tina Frühauf and Judah Cohen, which account for regional and social as well as religious and political circumstances. Other localised studies, including Halina Goldberg's research on the Jewish Reformers in late-nineteenth-century Warsaw and Piergabriele Mancuso's recent work on Jewish musical activities in early-modern Venice, have reinforced to me through their familiarity as well as through their differences that this work is essential to fully understanding the religious, political and social function of music for Jewish communities during this period.[50] Moreover, the interactions that such studies demonstrate between Jewish and non-Jewish spheres further advocate placing this research within a broader sacred and secular musicological framework.

These plans for future research projects are an exciting springboard into the realm of Anglo-Jewish music as British music, as musicology and as a part of Victorian cultural studies. Given its historic position as neither part of nor separate from larger discussions of Jewish music (usually within the context of ethnomusicology), European Jewish studies and diasporic communities, this feels like a pivotal moment in the life of a genre of music which I have personally associated with being both British and Jewish for over two decades. Verrinder has been a fascinating case study, providing seemingly endless avenues of exploration, educational and entertaining correspondence, communication, and opinion, and – for over five years – a type of musical kinship. I will be sorry to see him move from the centre of my academic focus; however, as I have demonstrated through my discussion of his many contributions to the Anglo-Jewish musical scene, I doubt that he will ever be far away.

Chaim Bermant, *Point of Arrival: A Study of London's East End* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1975); Aubrey Newman, ed., *The Jewish East End 1840-1939* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1981); and William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914* (London: Duckworth, in association with the Acton Society Trust, 1975).

[50] Halina Goldberg, '"On the Wings of Aesthetic Beauty Toward the Radiant Spheres of the Infinite": Music and Jewish Reformers in Nineteenth-Century Warsaw', *The Musical Quarterly* 101/4 (2018): 407-454; Piergabriele Mancuso, 'Judeo-Christian Interactions and Interferences in Early Modern Venice', presented at 'The Marvellous Art of In Between: Music in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Encounters' (Woolf Institute, Cambridge, 2020).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Declaration signed 15 April 1840, on the foundation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews

Printed in Philippa Bernard, *A Beacon of Light: The History of the West London Synagogue* (London: The West London Synagogue, 2013), 9; originally from the Synagogue's Minute Book.

> We the Undersigned, regarding Public Worship as highly conducive to the interests of religion, consider it a matter of deep regret that it is not more frequently attended by members of our Religious Persuasion. We are perfectly sure that this circumstance is not owing to any want of a general conviction of the fundamental Truths of our Religion, but we ascribe it to the distance of the existing Synagogues from the places of our Residence; to the length and imperfections of the order of service, to the inconvenient hours at which it is appointed; to the unimpressive manner in which it is performed and to the absence of religious instruction in our Synagogues. To these evils, we think that a remedy may be applied by the establishment of a Synagogue in the Western part of the Metropolis, where a Revised Service may be performed at hours more suited to our habits, and in a manner more calculated to inspire feelings of Devotion, where Religious Instruction may be afforded by competent persons, and where to effect these purposes, Jews generally may form an United Congregation under the denomination of British Jews.

Appendix 2: Details of the organs at Margaret Street and Upper Berkeley Street

This information has kindly been provided from the Gray & Davison records by Nicholas Thistlethwaite, author of *Organ-Building in Georgian and Victorian England: The Work of Gray & Davison, 1772-1890* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020).

Margaret Street (Ordered 22 March 1859; Gray & Davison, Shop Book 6. Job no. 10098; cost £350)

Great Organ (C-f^3)

Open Diapason	8
Dulciana (c)	8
Stop'd Diapason Bass (C-B)	8
Clarinet Flute	8
Principal	4
Flute	4
Fifteenth	2
Sesquialtra	II

Swell Organ (c-f^3; C-B probably coupled to Great)

Open Diapason	8
Stop'd Diapason	8
Keraulophon	8
Principal	4
Fifteenth	2
Cornopean	8
Oboe	8

Pedal Organ (C-e^1)

Grand Open Diapason	16

Couplers

Swell to Great

Great to Pedal

3 composition pedals

Deal case with gilt pipes

Upper Berkeley Street (Ordered 21 December 1869; cost £1200)

Great Organ (C-a^{3})

Double Diapason		16	
Open Diapason	8		
Stop'd Diapason		8	
Harmonic Flute	8		
Principal		4	
Flute Octaviante		4	(harmonic)
Principal		4	
Ottavina		2	
Piccolo Harmonic		2	
Mixture	IV		
Posaune		8	

Swell Organ (C-a^{3})

Bourdon		16	
Open Diapason	8		
Stop'd Diapason		8	
Keraulophon		8	
Principal		4	
Flautina		2	
Mixture	III		
Cornopean		8	
Oboe		8	
Clarion		4	

Choir Organ (C-a^{3})

Lieblich Gedact	8		
Dulciana		8	
Flute d'Amour		4	
Suabe Flute		4	
Flageolet		2	
Corno di Bassetto		8	

Pedal Organ (C-f^{1})

Open Diapason	16		
Violone	16		

Bourdon	16
Principal	8
Trombone	16

Couplers

Swell to Great

Swell to Choir

Swell to Great Octave

Great to Pedals

Swell to Pedals

Choir to Pedals

4 composition pedals to Great + Pedal

4 composition pedals to Swell

Deal case with polished ‘fine’ (=tin?) pipes supported by a gilt iron band

In 1890 a Solo Organ was added using tubular-pneumatic action to the following specification:

Gamba	8
Voix Celestes	8
Harmonic Flute	8
Flauto Traverso	4
Orchestral Oboe	8
Vox Humana	8
Tremulant	

Appendix 3: Table showing variations between editions of *The Music used in the Services of the West London Synagogue*, as found in different libraries and archives

Sources are those included in WorldCat, verified by examining individual library catalogues. Sources through which I have been able to view (or partly view) material, or with which I have been in contact, are marked with an asterisk.

Some entries have been removed since I first collected this data in 2015-2017; however, this table nonetheless demonstrates the inconsistency with which these volumes have been catalogued and dated, and the breadth of their international dissipation.

Volume numbers have occasionally had to be determined based on titles and descriptions; where more than one copy exists per volume, I have noted this by adding 'a' to the second copy listed.

Source	**Details**
British Library*	No. of volumes: 6 (1-2, 3-6) Publisher: Novello Date: Undated; British Museum Stamp dated 1909
City of London Guildhall Library	No. of volumes: 4 (3, 4, 5-6) Publisher: Novello Date: [1892]
College of Charleston	No. of volumes: 1 (1) Publisher: Novello Date: [1880]
Copenhagen University	No. of volumes: 1 (1) Publisher: Addison, Holler and Lucas Date: Undated; presumably 1861
Danish Union Catalogue and Danish National Bibliography*	No. of volumes: 1 (1) Publisher: Addison, Holler and Lucas Date: Undated; presumably 1861
Florida Atlantic University	No. of volumes: 4 (1, 4-6) Publisher: Novello Date: [1880]
Gratz College, Philadelphia*	No. of volumes: 4 (1, 4, 5-6) Publisher: L. Cock (listed; actually Novello) Date: [1880]

Hebrew Union College, Klau Library, Cincinnati	No. of volumes: 5 (1, 2, 4, 5-6) Publisher: Novello Date: [185-?-190-]
Leo Baeck Library*	No. of volumes: 5 (1, 1a, 2, 4, 5-6, 5-6a) Publisher: Novello (volumes 1a and 5-6a) Date: 1880 (1, 4, 5-6), 1892 (2), 1908 (inscription, 1a)
National Library of Israel	No. of volumes: 6 (1-2, 3, 4, 5-6) Publisher: Novello Date: [1892]
Public Library of Amsterdam	No. of volumes: 1 (1) Publisher: Addison, Hollier and Lucas Date: [19XX]; presumably 1861
University College, London*	No. of volumes: 2 (1, 2) Publisher: Lamborn Cock Date: 1881 (on side of volume)
University of Cambridge Library*	No. of volumes: 1 (1) Publisher: Addison, Hollier and Lucas Date: [1880] [X]; 1861
University of Oxford Library	No. of volumes: 2 (1-2, 1-2a) Publisher: Novello Date: [1880]
West London Synagogue*	No. of volumes: 6 (1, 2, 3, 4, 5-6) Publisher: Novello Date: Undated

Appendix 4: Comparisons of traditional melodies across *The Ancient Melodies*, *The Music used…* and the 'Blue Book'.

Page numbers refer to the Novello editions of *The Music used…* and the 1958 reprint of the 1933 edition of the 'Blue Book', found online at https://www.shulmusic.org/sheetmusic/bluebook/index.htm. Volume numbers for *The Music used…* are given in brackets prior to the page number.

All melodies were included in these three collections between 1857 and 1899. References to '1889' in the 'Blue Book' column are to F. L. Cohen and B. L. Moseley, *A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1889).

Pieces common to all three collections are listed first, followed by those found in only two.

Title of Melody	***The Ancient Melodies***	***The Music used…***	**'Blue Book'**
Az Yashir Moshe	Page: 9 Key: A major	Page: (1) 61 Key: G major Similar harmonisation to TAM but more variation in texture	Page: 33 Key: G major Use of specific, unexpected chords taken from TMU, some similarities in vocal lines. Also short section featured in 1889, 37, G major, mixture of TAM and TMU
El Nora	Page: 35 Key: Ab major	Page: (5) 195 Key: A major Quite different texture and harmonies to TAM; melody and underlay occasionally differs	Page: 218 Key: A major Set to text 'Lemaan Yezammercho'. Melody closer to TAM than TMU
En Kelohenu	Page: 43 Key: Bb major/C major Two settings of (almost) the same melody, 4 and 5 voices respectively	Page: (2) 211 Key: A major Melody is subtly different, fewer uses of triplets, harmonic variation more interesting	Page: 129 Key: G major Set to text 'Odecha'. Melody closer to TAM but harmonic and vocal movement similar to TMU

Hallel/Odecha	Page: 39 Key: D minor Metrical emphasis is unusual – long upbeat. Canon between upper and lower voices	Page: (1) 87; 92 Key: D minor 87: Harmonisation different but similar walking bass, vocal unison. 92: choral arrangement	Page: 42 Key: D minor Almost identical to TMU 92. Also in 1889, 49, D minor
Hallel/Hodu Ladonai	Page: 40 Key: F major	Page: (1) 89 Key: F major Same melody, more interesting harmonies and harmonic variation	Page: 42 Key: F major Verbatim to TMU without harmonic variation on repetition
Tov Lehodot (Psalm 92)	Page: 6 Key: F minor Includes downward scale from fifth to tonic to announce the Psalm text	Page: (1) 2 Key: E minor Downward scale imitated in organ introduction. Bass line copied from TAM. Most vocal lines similar but not identical	Page: 20 Key: E minor Harmonisation almost identical to TMU, including a section not in TAM. Also in 1889, 20, E minor
Uba Letsiyon	Page: 14 Key: Ab major Changes in time signature to indicate melodic freedom or metrical irregularity	Page: (2) 81; (5) 177 Key: A major Regular metre, melody and underlay adapted to fit. Very similar vocal writing and harmonisations to TAM	Page: 217 Key: Ab major Regular metre but not the same as TMU. Simplified melody, some harmonies and vocal lines identical to TAM
Vaani Tefillati	Page: 16 Key: G major	Page: (2) 84 Key: A major Unison melody, some variation (also in rhythm) but roughly same melodic shape as TAM	Page: 29 Key: G major Same melody and very similar harmonies as TAM
Yigdal	Page: 36 Key: Bb major	Page: (2) 58; later also (1) 28	Page: 24 Key: Bb major

		Key: B major Second half newly composed; harmonic movement similar but not identical to TAM, more harmonic interest	Melody and harmonies almost identical to TAM, reducing some harmonic issues (e.g. parallel octaves). Also in 1889, 42, Bb major
Adonai Melech	Page: 34 Key: B minor		Page: 45 Key: A minor Extended and slightly varied melody, altered harmonies
Hakafot		Page: (3) 54 Key: G major	Page: 135 Key: G major Almost identical melody and harmonies to TMU. Also 1889, 156, G major
Hallel for Sabbath	Page: 24 Key: A minor		Page: 173 Key: G minor Set to text 'Beseifer Chayim'. Melody and harmonies almost identical to TAM. Also 1889, 194, G minor
Hovu Ladonai	Page: 10 Key: G major Changes in time signature and awkward movement in inner voices during static melodic sections		Page: 8 Key: G major Similar bass line to TAM in places, more interesting harmonies. Reduces TAM's awkward sections to chant with static harmonies
Ki Hinneih/Yachbienu/Yashmienu		Page: (5) 216 Key: A minor	Page: 199 Key: A minor 6/8 alternating with 4/4 time signature. Similar

		Voices in unison. 3/4 time signature throughout	opening motif and occasional harmonic and vocal movement to TMU
Lecha Dodi	Page: 5 Key: F major		Page: 14 Key: F major Very similar melody and harmonies to TAM, with more harmonic variation. Lots of parallel fifths.
Petach Lanu		Page: (5) 207 Key: G major Unison voices with still accompaniment. Also set to text 'Ngod Bo Nishmato', 125	Page: 220 Key: A major More harmonic movement that TMU
Yigdal (Leoni)		Page: (1) 21 Key: F# minor Variation in texture and harmony throughout verses, including unison first and final verses	Page: 24 Key: G minor Melody slightly varied, harmonies the same for each verse. Also in 1889, 42, E minor
Yigdal	Page: 8 Key: C major	Page: (2) 65; later also (1) 35 Key: C major Very similar harmonies to TAM, almost identical bass line	
Yisrael Nosha Badonai		Page: (5) 215 Key: D major Voices in unison	Page: 223 Key: F major Different harmonies to TMU

Appendix 5: Verrinder's appointments, public engagements, and publications

This table is based on information gathered from correspondence and articles in the national, Jewish, and musical press. I have included music-related social occasions where it is known that Verrinder was present, and events at which he made a small contribution. The 'Musical Publications' section is not a complete list of Verrinder's works, with entries taken from press adverts, sources found in library catalogues and existing collections of music.

Year	Appointments and Professional Awards	Musical Societies, Committees and Performances	Musical Publications
1854	Organist, Holy Trinity, Windsor		
1856	Organist, St Giles' in the Fields, London		
1857			Anthem, *Out of the Deep*, J. Surman *Sanctus and Kyrie Eleison*, J. Surman (c. 1857-1862)
1859	Organist, West London Synagogue, London		Anthem, *Oh Sing unto the Lord a new Song*, J. Surman (c. 1859-1862)
1860		Elected Fellow, Musical Society of London; Accompanied MSL concert, St James' Hall (conductor: Henry Smart)	
1861			*The Music used…* Volume 1, Addison and Co.; *Introduction and Six Variations on the Russian National Melody*, Addison
1862	BA (Hons), New College, University of Oxford	Organ performance, International Exhibition, Windsor	
1864		Conductor, Julius Benedict's cantata, *Undine*, benefit concert;	

		Conductor, London Choral Union, Howard Glover Musical Festival, Drury Lane Theatre	
1865		Secretary, Musical Society of London; Conductor, London Choral Union, Howard Glover Musical Festival, Drury Lane Theatre; Conductor; London Choral Union, composition 'Wake up sweet melody' performed, Hanover Square Rooms	
1867	Organist, Christ Church, Lancaster Gate	Accompanist, Musical Society concert of chamber music; Honorary Secretary, Alfred Mellon Memorial Fund; Secretary, Ancient Concerts (newly revived)	*Two Scenas: 'Endymion' and 'The Lament'*, Lamborn Cock; 'Soldiers of Christ, arise' in the *Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book*, Novello
1868		Resigned as Secretary, Ancient Concerts	
1870			*The Music used…* Volumes 1 and 2, Lamborn Cock; *Introduction and Six Variations on the Russian National Melody*, Novello; *Kyrie*, Novello; Piece(s) in 'The Village Organist', Novello
1871		Conductor, charity choral festival, St Patrick's Church, Brighton	Several pieces in 'Short Anthems or Introits', Novello
1872		Conductor and accompanist, concert for 'The Ladies' Industrial Society', Bijou Theatre, Bayswater;	Piece(s) in 'The Village Organist' Volume 2, Novello

		Organiser, 'Soiree Musicale', Lancaster Gate	
1873	Organist and Choirmaster, St Paul's Church, Paddington; Mus Doc Cantuar (Lambeth Degree)	Organiser, concert for the St Paul's Church Organ Fund, Mrs Allecroft's 'mansion', Lancaster Gate; Two compositions performed at concert, Hampshire	Introductory Voluntary in 'The Organists' Quarterly Journal of Original Compositions', Novello; *Benedicite Omnia Opera*, Reeves and Turner
1874		Organist, solo concert, Royal Albert Hall; Accompanist, Grace Lindo recital, Beethoven Rooms	*Introduction and Six Variations on the Russian National Melody*, Novello*;* *Israel, in Adversity and in Deliverance*, Novello; *Six Settings of the 'Kyrie Eleison'*, Novello; 'The Light Hath Shined', Novello
1875		Conductor and accompanist, Julie Sydney recital; Member, Musical Association; Joined Council, Musicians' National Music Meetings series; Performer, recital, Bow and Bromley Institute	'Thou whose Almighty word' in the *Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book*, third edition, Novello
1876		Member, Musical Association; Accompanist, concert, home of Mrs Stevenson (Verrinder's relative), with Leonora Braham; Present at meeting, College of Organists; Opened new organ at St Mary's, Acton	
1877	Organist and Choirmaster, St Michael's, Chester Square	Lecture on Synagogue Music, College of Organists; Organist, solo recital, Royal Albert Hall;	

		Present at William Best's Organ Recital, Primrose Hill	
1878		Organist, two solo recitals, Royal Albert Hall	Piece in 'Sixteen Soft Organ Voluntaries', Metzler and Co; *Benedicite Omnia Opera*, Novello; Piece in 'A Book of Single Chants, Ancient and Modern', W R Bowden, Oxford; Voluntary in 'English Organ Music', *Musical Standard* Series
1879		Conductor, concert in aid of St Michael's Institute; Organist, two solo concerts, Royal Albert Hall	
1880	Professor of Organ, London School of Music, Harley Street	Committee, Henry Smart Memorial Fund; Designer and organist, service and recital on new organ, St Oswald's, Blankney	
1881		Organist, pianist and conductor, concert and organ performance, Lancaster Hall, Notting Hill; Performer, Henry Smart Memorial Concert, Royal Academy of Music; Contributor, conference on organ construction, College of Organists, Neumeyer Hall; Conductor, Henry Smart Memorial Concert, Lancaster Hall;	

		Conductor, Ballad Concert, Royal Victoria Hall, with 'Dr Verrinder's Choir' and 'St Michael's Choir Boys'; Performer, organ recital and concert, Henry Smart Memorial Fund, home of Rev. A. W. Hamilton Gell	
1882		Organiser and conductor, 'Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert', including cantata *Israel*, featuring 'Dr. Verrinder's choir of 60 voices'; Present at meeting, the organisation of the music profession, home of George Osborne (Parry, Stainer, Salaman, Stanford etc. also present); Council, College of Organists	*Six original compositions for the organ*, Novello
1883		Committee, John Goss memorial (through College of Organists)	
1886		Chair, C W Pearce lecture, College of Organists	
1887		Organist and conductor, Lecture-Recital, Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition	*Hear my cry O God*, with English and Hebrew words, Novello
1888		Present, College of Organists' dinner; Associate Member, Philharmonic Society; Present, celebration of John Stainer's knighthood	
1889	Resigned post at St Michael's, Chester Square	Contributor, Sight-Singing lecture, College of Organists; Council, College of Organists	

1890	Organist, St Mary's West Kensington; Shortlisted for Gresham Professorship (unsuccessful)	Assistant, awarding of examination diplomas, College of Organists; Present, celebration of Edmund Turpin's Lambeth Degree; Present, Guild of Organists' dinner; Present, meeting, College of Organists; Lecturer, presentation on Hebrew Music for Gresham Professorship competition; Committee, College of Organists; Speaker, distribution of Associate Diplomas, College of Organists	
1891		Conductor, concert with Hebrew Choral Society, South Place Institute; Council, College of Organists	*The Music used…* Volumes 1-3, Novello; *Kol Nidrei*, Novello
1892	Candidate for Principal of Guildhall School of Music (unsuccessful); Examiner for London College of Music	Conductor, concert in aid of the Society for Colonization of Palestine, Prince's Hill, Piccadilly; Present, London College of Music dinner; Committee, College of Organists	Piece(s) in *Infinite Anglican Chants*, The London Music Publishing Company
1893	Examiner for London College of Music	Present, London College of Music dinner; Present, meeting and dinner for Union of Graduates, College of Organists;	

		Present, awarding of Associate certificates, College of Organists; Present, Banquet 'in honour of music'	
1894	Resigned as examiner for London College of Music	Present, meeting of Union of Graduates, College of Organists	
1896	Candidate for Principal of Guildhall School of Music (unsuccessful)		
1897			'Jubilee Psalm and National Anthem' (*Hear my cry O God*), Novello
1900	Organist and Choirmaster, Ealing Congregational Church		

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